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THE SESTIERE OF SAN POLO
A CROSS SECTION OF VENETIAN SOCIETY IN
THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

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SUMMARY.

This thesis seeks to add to our understanding of Venetian society in the latter half of the fifteenth century by offering a new approach: an in-depth study of one of Venice's six districts (*sestieri*). My researches concentrated on the *sestiere* of San Polo, which embraced the Rialto. My intention in narrowing the focus of analysis is to reveal a cross-section of society. Fundamental to this inquiry is to discover the identity of this *sestiere*; to explore its little known social profile, trades and solidarities and to sharpen the images of its urban fabric. At the same time, it is an investigation into the significance and role of neighbourhood and local loyalties in Renaissance Venice. The opening chapter discusses the changing topography of San Polo and its definition over the following three centuries. Boundaries were blurred; parish disputes document how and why they were changed. Chapter Two introduces the three social orders recognised by contemporaries (patriciate, citizenry and artisans), tracing the sharpening of hierarchy, the growing cohesion of the *cittadini originarii* and the emergence of poorer neighbourhoods towards the city's margins. Chapter Three investigates noble and *cittadini* families in San Polo, through a number of detailed case studies. A complex and varied picture emerged, in which family structures and residential patterns amongst the nobility did not conform to rigid models. Chapter Four attempts to flesh out a collective portrait of the "little people", beginning with Rialto. Chapters Five and Six discuss property; initially through a massive survey after the Rialto fire (1514); *Quattrocento* sources are then used to examine property at Rialto, domestic housing, building activity and renting. The final chapter deals with neighbourhood, concluding that the *sestiere* was not an effective social unit and that local loyalties formed part of complex and changing webs of allegiance.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ARCHIVAL SOURCES.

All references, unless otherwise indicated, are to documents in the Archivio di Stato, Venezia (ASV).

AN	Archivio Notarile series 'Testamenti'
CI	Cancelleria Inferiore, Notai
Dieci	Consiglio dei Dieci
DS	Dieci Savi sopra alle Decime in Rialto
GdP	Giudici di Petizion
MC	Maggior Consiglio
QM	Quattro ministeriali, Stride e Chiamori
PSM	Procuratori di San Marco
SGE	Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista
APSS	Archivio Parrocchiale di San Silvestro
IRE	Archivio degli Istituti di Ricovero e Educazione, Venezia
BCV	Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr, Venezia
Pdc.	BCV, Provenienze Diverse, codice
BNM	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venezia
b.	<i>busta</i> , <i>buste</i> used for all 'packets' of documents, whether bound or loose in boxes or folders
mv	<i>more veneto</i> (The Venetian year began on March 1)
n.a	<i>numero anagrafico</i> (street number)
qd	<i>quondam</i>

BOOKS.

DBI.	<i>Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani</i>
Sanudo, Diarii	<i>I diarii di Marino Sanuto</i> , ed R.Fulin et al., 58 vols, Venezia, (1879-1903).

PERIODICALS.

AV	<i>Archivio veneto</i> , edited and published by Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, now Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie, Venezia, (1871-1890), [80 fascicoli]; serie V, (1927-)
NAV	<i>Nuovo Archivio veneto</i> , Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie, Venezia, (1891-1900), [40 fascicoli]; nuova serie, (1901-1926) [10 fascicoli]
SV	<i>Studi veneziani</i> , Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venezia (1965-), continues <i>Bollettino</i> <i>dell'Istituto di storia della società e dello</i> <i>stato veneziano</i> , Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venezia (1959-64); (1965-76), [12 issues] nuova serie (1977-), Giardini Editore, Pisa.

In vain, great-hearted Kublai, shall I attempt to describe Zaira from its high bastions. I could tell you how many steps make up the streets raising like staircases, and the degree of the arcades' curves, and what kind of zinc tiles cover the roofs: But I already know this would be the same as telling you nothing. The city does not consist of this, but of relationships between the measurements of its space and the events of its past.

(ITALO CALVINO)¹

INTRODUCTION.

"Venice is divided into six *sestieri* (sixths): three on one side of the Canal, and three on the other...On the near side, their names are Castello, St Mark's and Cannaregio: on the far side are Santa Croce, San Polo and Dorsoduro".² This thesis seeks to add to our understanding of late fifteenth century Venetian society by offering a new approach: an in-depth study of a single *sestiere*, that of San Polo.

Jacopo de'Barbari's bird's-eye view of Venice printed in 1500 provides an unparalleled vision of the city on account

1. "Inutilmente, magnanimo Kublai, tenterò di descriverti la città di Zaira dagli alti bastioni. Potrei dirti di quanti gradini sono le vie fatte a scale, di che sesto gli archi dei porticati, di quali lamine di zinco sono ricoperti i tetti; ma so già che sarebbe come non dirti nulla. Non di questo è fatta la città, ma di relazioni tra le misure del suo spazio e gli avvenimenti del suo passato": I. Calvino, *Le città invisibili*, pbk.ed., Einaudi, Torino, (1972), 18.

2. M. Sanudo, *Laus urbis Venetae*, in *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis venetae ovvero La Città di Venetia*, (1493-1530), ed. A.C. Aricò, with a glossary by P. Zolli, Cisalpino-La Goliardico, Milano, (1980), 20-39., trs. by David Chambers in D. Chambers, B. Pullan (eds.), *Venice: A documentary history, 1450-1630*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, (1991), 7. Throughout this thesis I use the normal form *sestiere* rather than its Venetian equivalent, *sestier*.

of its immediacy, great size and tremendous attention to detail. Although two-dimensional and charged with idealism, the power of these qualities convey an impression of alarming realism; a sort of "window on the world".³ But the map is a frozen description that leaves out the inhabitants of the city. The only signs of life are on the water, apart from a few people waiting by the Ponte della Paglia and making for the ferry at San Giorgio (see illustration on next page). Rialto, described by Pietro Aretino as "*calcato d'uomini*" (packed with men) is deserted.⁴

Italo Calvino's reflections in his novel *Invisible Cities*, brilliantly expose the inadequacy of such an all-encompassing design to grasp the complex reality of the city. Expressing the tension between geometric rationality and the entanglement of human lives, Calvino sketches and resketches a plurality of grids of knowledge (*mappe sapienziali*).⁵ He nevertheless refuses to resolve these approaches, encouraging us to explore the problem further.

By studying a *sestiere*, I aim to capture something of the human dimension of the city, the tissue of relationships and the experience of individuals. Narrowing the focus of analysis also provides an opportunity to formulate more subtle and less mechanistic concepts of how social groups

3. See for this plan, J.Schulz, 'Jacopo de'Barbari's View of Venice, Map Making, City Views and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500', *Art Bulletin*, LX, n.3, (1978), 425-74; The expression "*una finestra sul mondo*", was used by L.B.Alberti to refer to the desired effect of paintings that used perspective.

4. P.Aretino, *Lettere. Il primo e secondo libro*, ed. F.Flora, in *Tutte le opere di Pietro Aretino*, Mondadori, Milano, (1960), 265; D.Chambers, 'A bird's eye view of Venice', in C.Hope, J.Martineau (eds.), *The Genius of Venice 1500-1600*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, (1983), 392.

5. Cf. C.Milanini, *L'utopia discontinua. Saggio su Italo Calvino*, Garzanti, Milano, (1990).



Signs of life: Detail from Jacopo de'Barbari's view of Venice
(1500, Museo Civico Correr).

are formed, such as the connections between individual decisions and social stratification.⁶ A possible alternative, to concentrate exclusively on a single parish, may only provide a small and unrepresentative sample, which also may be greatly misleading because of the sharp differences apparent between parishes.

Fundamental to this inquiry is to reveal the identity of this *sestiere*: its people, streets, trades, solidarities and conflicts; to explore the little-known social profile of its parishes; to sharpen the images of the changing face of its urban fabric and to define its boundaries.

At the same time, my purpose is to investigate the role and significance of neighbourhood and local loyalties in Renaissance Venice. Can we really envisage Venice's parishes as compact communities or microcosms, reproducing on a smaller scale the "essential organs" of the larger city? Did once-vigorous neighbourhood loyalties waste away?

This particular *sestiere* was chosen for several reasons. At its eastern tip (as today) stood Rialto, the great nerve-centre of commerce and finance with its bustling market. Moreover, the whole of San Polo was perceived by contemporaries as situated in the *corpo* ("body") or *viscere*

6. This approach owes much to the complex theoretical position fully discussed in G. Levi, 'Les Usages de la Biographie', *Annales ESC*, VI, (November-December 1989), 1325-1336; S. Cerutti, *Mestieri e privilegi. Nascita delle corporazioni a Torino. Secoli XVII-XVIII*, Microstorie, Einaudi, Torino, (1994), 30-31. I agree with the following statement by Arlette Farge: "It is possible that the archives may be a rejection of the meaning we seek to attribute in advance to events and a shift away from any attempts at global theorizing. For me, they are the emergence of existences which offer our knowledge an extra bonus in as much as one is prepared to admit the possibility of transforming the accepted rules of social evolution": see her *Fragile Lives. Violence, Power and Solidarity in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, trs. C. Shelton, Polity Press, Oxford, (1993), 5.

("guts") of the city.⁷ Yet this district also had an intriguing variety. The massive basilica of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari erected between c.1335 and 1443 for the conventual Franciscans (*frari*) dominates its western part. Jacopo's view shows a plain, one-storey hall in its shadow, on Campo San Tom : the *Scuola dei Calegheri* (the meeting-place of the shoemakers guild).⁸ Similarly, a shed (*tezon*) and wooden frames for drying and stretching wool (*chiovere*) are clearly visible behind the apses of the Frari.⁹ Conversely, there is clear evidence of the presence of powerful noble families, including bankers. These elements indicated that San Polo would make an interesting sample and cross-section of Venetian society.

Another obvious criterion was San Polo's limited size. It would be an enormous task for a single researcher to study Castello adequately, which accounts for almost the entire eastern half of the city, or the vast sprawl of Cannaregio. The *sestieri* of Santa Croce and San Polo both encompass nine parishes; San Marco contains sixteen.

To underline the distinct "social mix" of San Polo, the character of neighbourhood ties forged there and the ways in

7. Cf. E. Concina, *Venezia nell' ta moderna. Struttura e funzioni*, Polis, Collana di Architettura e Urbanistica, Marsilio Editore, Venezia, (1989), 35-52 ('Le viscere della citt ').

8. The shoemakers guild bought the land in June 1437 from the parish, whilst an inscription on the building records its foundation in December 1446: ASV, Chiesa di San Tom , b.2, filza 15, "Scritture delle scuole, 1437-1606"; G. Monticolo, *I capitolari delle Arti Veneziane sottoposte alla Giustizia e poi alla Giustizia Vecchia, dalle origini al MCCCXXX*, Vol. I, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, Istituto Storico Italiano, Roma, (1896), LXXXIX.

9. This area (*Campielo Chiovere/Calle Castelforte San Rocco*) lay just beyond the indistinct fifteenth-century boundary of San Polo (though it is included in the present-day *sestiere*). In November 1910, a foundry on this site was demolished to make way for a block of flats: 'Domus Civica e Case Popolari a San Rocco', scheda n.21, *Itinerari Veneziani. San Polo, Comune di Venezia. Servizi Educativi*, (1988);

which those loyalties appear to have formed part of complex webs of allegiance, comparisons and contrasts will be drawn with localities not only in Venice, but also in Florence, Genoa and Rome. So that the discussion will be easier to follow, I have presented the following significant changes in Venetian society within a framework of the three social orders recognised by contemporaries (patriciate, citizenry, and artisans): the sharpening hierarchy within the upper reaches of society, the growing cohesion of the *cittadini originarii* and the emergence of poorer neighbourhoods towards the margins of the city.

The field of vision is then reduced, to concentrate on noble and *cittadini* families in the *sestiere*, through a number of case studies. As far as the sources allow, the questions tackled here are those of changing family structures and strategies, residence patterns and the composition, range and role of kinship and marriage ties. Starting at Rialto, I then attempt to flesh out a collective portrait of the *popolo minuto*.

Separate chapters are devoted to the urban structure of the *sestiere*: its changing topography, boundaries and property (from the massive survey of 1514). The management of property, the extent of building, renovation and sales are subsequently discussed. The final chapter deals with neighbourhood.

The starting-point for this investigation is the mid-fifteenth century, when Venice stood at the centre of two,

empires; the *Stato da Mar*, a string of coasts, islands and ports along the shores of Dalamatia, the eastern Adriatic and stretching round the Greek archipelago into the eastern Mediterranean; and a mainland state, created in the first three decades of the century, which extended from Istria and Friuli on the east to the banks of the Adda and the enclave of Crema on the west. Venice was approaching the high watermark of her prosperity, power and prestige.

Surprisingly the following half-century has been infrequently studied for its own sake; more often the period attracts attention as a prelude to sixteenth-century developments. Historians have been drawn to Venetian society in the turbulent and formative years following the crushing defeat at Agnadello (1509), events which "stirred up dark waves of...intense moral distress among wide sections of the population"; or they have preferred the Venice of the "myth", celebrated for its unique internal stability and harmony, which seized hold of the imagination of all Europe especially after 1530, when the Republic had remarkably maintained its independence and hung onto its Terraferma dominions.¹⁰ Scholars of this period can also focus on a wealth of published material, above all the fifty-eight volumes of Marin Sanudo's diaries, a meticulous and well-informed record covering the period between 1496 and 1533. However, as well as being a relatively neglected period, the second half of the century was also chosen as "a reasonable

10. Quote from G.Cozzi, 'Authority and the Law', in J.Hale (ed.), *Renaissance Venice*, Faber and Faber, London, (1973), 310.

compromise between the demands of duration and manageability". Because thousands of documents, tax returns and huge property surveys were destroyed in the Rialto fire of 1514, the only way of providing a well-rounded picture of property was to rely on records compiled to make up for these losses: the *Redecima*.¹¹

However, as Giovanni Levi has emphasized, any work which involves prosopographical research (collective biographies) on the anonymous *popolo minuto* must abandon the idea of exhaustivity and cannot follow its actors beyond the densest and most probable concentrations of the documents. The limits of the sources particularly conditioned the scope of this enquiry. A great deal of evidence was scattered across many different sources, often entirely unconnected; remaining traces were mostly buried in largely unexplored notarial archives; registers of the major legislative councils yielded only occasional fragments but each clue suggested new places to look: such as in the records of civil courts or family archives in the library of the Correr Museum.

Therefore it was seldom possible to give exact figures upon which a precise analysis of historical change so often depends. Furthermore, until evidence on other *sestieri* has been assembled any conclusions offered must be tentative. Nevertheless, when pieced together surviving evidence

11. G. Luzzatto, *Il debito pubblico della Repubblica di Venezia, dagli ultimi decenni del XII secolo alla fine del XV*, Mercato e Azienda, Collana di studi economici e sociali, Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, Varese, Milano, (1963), 191-282. *Decime* are discussed at length in Chapter 5.

provides very detailed information on specific areas and families, which hopefully convey something of the workings of an increasingly fractured society. Similarly, although the documents reserve little space for the abject poor, they enable us to reveal previously obscured artisans, servants and minor *cittadino* families.

(I) THE SOURCES

From August 31 1506, "to ensure all propriety" in the registration of noble births and "to eliminate all fraud", all parish priests who had baptized male children were required within three days of the baptism "to come and notify the office of the Avogaria di Commun". Each had to "keep a register from day to day and from time to time", making a note of all those born, and all nobles who died.¹² Similarly, bills of mortality were only kept by law from 1504, as part of the arsenal of public health measures (they first appear in Florence in 1385, Milan in 1452, Bologna in 1456 and Mantua in 1496).¹³ Unfortunately, parish registers in San Polo, with the sole exception of Sant'Aponal, only begin in 1563.¹⁴ Furthermore, not even a fragment remains of a comprehensive census ordered in 1440.¹⁵ In the absence of such sources, it is therefore rash to formulate hypotheses concerning birth and death rates, fertility and marriage.

12. Sanudo, *Diarii*, 6, 406 (31.8.1506).

13. See C.Cipolla, *Public Health and the Medical Profession in in the Renaissance*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, (1976).

14. Sant'Aponal, deaths, 1526-; births, 1571-; San Polo, deaths and marriages, 1564-; deaths: San Silvestro=1573 ;S.Giovanni=1598-; births S.Matteo, 1564-; S.Tomà, 1564-, S.Stin, 1564-; S.Agostin, 1563-; S.Boldo, marriages 1618-.

15. 8.6.1440: Dieci, Misti, reg.12, c.61r, fully published in appendix to A.Contento, 'Il censimento della popolazione sotto la repubblica veneta, NAV, XIX, (1900), 192.

Nevertheless, the State Archives do house hundreds of unbound wills and notarized acts, stashed into *buste* arranged by notary in the *Cancellaria Inferiore* and the *Testamenti* series of the vast *Archivio Notarile*.

Behind much of the evidence I have gathered lies the singular nature of the notarial profession in Venice, characterised by the prominent and enduring presence of priest-notaries. The lack of adequately skilled lay scribes determined that the ducal chancery was swarming with priest-notaries at the beginning of the fifteenth century. In fact, scribal posts in the palace courts were reserved for them by a Great Council law of 1399. "*Nodarie*" and "*scrivanie*" continued to be the prey of these figures throughout the *quattrocento*, finally igniting protest by disgruntled citizens. Roughly forty per cent of all notaries who drew up wills that survive from the years 1445 to 1470 were priests.¹⁶ In 1474, the government attempted to exclude priest-notaries from courts and "*officii*", by stipulating that vacant posts should in future be assigned only to "lay *cittadini* of this city"; nevertheless the measure was widely flouted.¹⁷

16. ASV, B.Cecchetti (ed.), *Statistica degli atti custoditi nella Sezione Notarile*, Naratovich editore, Venezia (1886), *passim*.

17. "*Cittadini laici de questa città*", 19.1.1474 m.v. (=1475): MC, Libro d'Oro, II, f.201v. See G.Cracco, "*Relinquere laicis que laicorum sunt*": un intervento di Eugenio IV contro i preti-notai di Venezia', *Bollettino dell'istituto di storia della società e dello stato veneziano*, III, (1961), 179-89. M.Casini, 'La Cittadinanza originaria a Venezia tra i secoli XV e XVI. Una Linea Interpretativa', in *Studi veneti offerti a Gaetano Cozzi*, II Cardo, Vicenza, (1992), 133-148, esp. n.24 (for the complaints of *cittadini*). For the ducal chancery early in the century: F.Dupuigrenet Desrouilles, 'L'università di Padova dal 1405 al Concilio di Trento', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, III/II, Neri Pozza, Vicenza, (1981), 607-42.

The most important characteristic of these priest-notaries is that their clientele was predominantly local. Antonio Grassellis worked in the parish of Sant'Aponal for three decades (at the very least between August 1464 and April 1493). Over two hundred and forty wills and three protocol registers by his hand survive.¹⁸ Although Grassellis drew up wills for clients from forty-four different parishes, 48% were from the neighbouring parishes of Sant'Aponal and San Silvestro and 55% from the *sestiere* as a whole. Antonio's father, Piero, was also a presbyter and notary in the parish between 1444 and 1459. When Francesco Sanson succumbed to the plague in 1488, Antonio was elected parish priest. Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan has examined the range of the notaries Nicolò de Curso and Giovanni Burghi in the early decades of the century and found a similar pattern.¹⁹ A lot of evidence also survives from other priest notaries in the *sestiere*: at Sant'Agostin (Valentino dalla Torre), San Polo (Francesco Grassi, Girolamo Persecini, Benedetto Ognibene, Antonio Sarda) San Silvestro (Apollonio Benado) and San Boldo (Luca Amore). However, the wills of Andrea de Inzegneri, parish priest of San Tomá between 1459 and 1499, are too ravaged by mould to consult. But some lay notaries are equally useful, such as Girolamo Bonicardi, or those

18. ASV, AN, Notary, A.Grassellis, b.508; CI, b.99.

19. E.Crouzet-Pavan, "Sopra le acque salse". *Espaces, Pouvoir e société à Venise à la fin du Moyen âge*, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, Nuovi Studi storici XIV, Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome 156, Vol.I, Perugia, (1992), 581. See also p.582 for indications of the range of activity of Pietro di Rubeo (Rossi) between 1452 and 1478 in S.Maria Maddalena (limited to S.Geremia, S.Felice, S.Marcuola, S.Sofia, all in Cannaregio) and of Domenico de Groppis: AN, b.1186, (1453-1505); CI, b.98, (1463-1501).

like Cristoforo Rizzo, Bartolomeo Camucci and his son Tommaso who had their stands at Rialto.

The wills of priest-notaries form the nucleus of our body of evidence, the most valuable and extensive source from which we can systematically build up a sense of the social profile of this district. Although under-represented, the poor (especially women) and the propertyless often make an appearance; as tenants, as the recipients of charity, as witnesses. A number of testaments drawn up for minor artisans and particularly for servants also survive.

These wills and their content, however, cannot be properly interpreted without first attempting to explore how notaries practised and some of the conventions they worked with which, intentionally or not, found a way into the records they prepared.

Venetian notaries were subject to diverse jurisdictions; though from 1449 all notaries had to be registered at the Cancelleria Inferiore. It was only in November 1485 that legislation was introduced that aimed to standardize and regulate the profession.²⁰ From that date, notaries were to be examined and then registered by the Grand Chancellor. Hence in January 1478, Thomá Trevisan testified that Stefano de Steffani had come to him at Rialto to ask if he would draw up the will of the silk merchant Andrea Benedetti. "I told him that I was not a Venetian notary but a notary by

20. MC, Stella, (11.11.1485). Mentioned in L.Greco, 'Sulle Rotte delle Galere veneziane: il cartulario di bordo del prete-notaio Giovanni Manzini 1471-86', AV, CXXII, (1991), n.7, 8; R.Cessi, A.Alberti, *Rialto. L'Isola, Il ponte, Il mercato*, Zanichelli, Bologna, (1934), 348.

imperial authority" (*Al qual dissi che non era nodaro di Venezia ma de imperio*).²¹ As Stefano wanted the will "*per modo de Venexia*" they went to the "*cancello*" of Giacomo Avanzi, another notary at Rialto.

A conventional will was drafted by a notary, read out and was signed by the testator, all in the presence of at least two male witnesses who added their signatures. The notary made two copies (*cedule*) there and then, which were witnessed and signed. One of these he had to take the same day to the Cancelleria Inferiore, where it was sealed and under no circumstances could be seen during the testator's lifetime.²²

The major problem of interpretation is judging when we read a will whose voice is being heard: that of the testator or the notary. Venetian notaries were required by law to jog testators' consciences, to remind them of the existence of the Lazzareto (the pest-house), the Pietà (the foundlings hospital) and the monastery of Santa Maria delle Grazie.²³ In August 1458, the hospital run by the tertiaries (*pizochare*) of Sant'Agnese at San Barnaba and in June 1475

21. ASV, Inquisitori di stato, b.912. This busta was signalled by Pompeo Molmenti in his *Storia di Venezia nella vita privata*, vol.I, *La Grandezza*, 4th ed., Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, Bergamo, (1905), n.7, 258. The folder also includes a full inventory of Benedetti's silk-shop at Rialto, 30.1.1478 (mv).

22. Like Cardinal Bessarion's incomparable collection of codices donated to the Republic, (which were staked in crates in the seats of the courts of the Forty in the Ducal Palace) these papers were kept barely safe: they were left forgotten on the ground floor of the same building, exposed to flooding and damp. On Bessarion's donation see M.Zorzi, *La Libreria de San Marco. Libri, Lettori. Società della Venezia dei Dogi*, Mondadori, Milano, (1987); M.Lowry, 'Two Great Venetian Libraries in the Age of Aldus Manutius', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library of Manchester*, LVII, (1974), 378-420.

23. Legislation of 26.6 1375 (all three); 21.9.1431 (Lazzareto); 22.12.1436 (the Pietà), see M.A. Bigaglia, *Capitulare legum notariis publicis Venetiarum*, Venezia, (1689), 16, 21; ASV, Secreta, Codici Svajer 14 (ex-Breda 262), "Capitolare dei Notai", cc.20v-21r.

the Hospital of Gesù Cristo di San Antonio (for ex-servicemen) were added to the list.

Buste of testaments also include a large number of codicils and also *cedole* (schedules), slips of paper on which the testator had written out his/her will, but which lacked the necessary legal clauses. Notaries had to ask the testator if the *cedola* was in his/her handwriting and if not, had to read the will out. Such was the case with a *cedola/polizza* allegedly of the aforementioned Andrea Benedetto and written by his best friend ("*più stretto amico*"), Gaspar Saraton. Giacomo Avanzi, the notary, and Saraton agreed to question Andrea on his deathbed. Stefano de Stefano recollected, "And so we went into the room and when he (Andrea) was asked how he felt, he replied "As God pleases", and Giacomo asked Andrea [...] "Gasparo says he wrote this piece of paper, your last will and testament and I want (to be sure) it is your will", and he replied "Read it out". Giacomo read it and asked him if he wanted it to be his testament, and he replied "No". Then Gasparo anxiously approached him and said to Andrea, "Didn't you get me to write this slip? Didn't you tell me you wanted to accept it? Why don't you want to accept it?". Andrea died intestate two days later.²⁴

24. Inquisitori di Stato, b.912; In amongst the wills of Andrea Grassellis, there is also a moving account of his visits to the dying Bartolomeo de Ferrara, a guard at Rialto and Andrea's last ditch attempts to salvage some kind of oral will (*brevarium*). These wills were only valid if three male witnesses called expressly by the testator were present. They also had to be approved by the judges of the Esaminador court: AN, Notary A.Grassellis, b.508, n.235.

After a notary's death his registers were deposited in the Cancelleria Inferiore, or given to another notary and the *Provveditori di Comun* and chancery were informed. In fact, the series entitled *Notai, Cancelleria inferiore*, is the main source for the protocol registers and loose acts of these notaries. Even so, the overwhelming majority of wills can be found elsewhere in the Archivio Notarile, under the series *Testamenti*, organised by notary. Hundreds of wills can also be found in the *Miscellanea Notai Diversi* of the Cancelleria Inferiore.

I have also relied extensively on a little-known series which does not appear in any published guide to the State Archives: the *Quattro Ministeriali, Stride e chiamori*. *Ministeriali* (also known as *preconi* or *comandadori*) were officials under the jurisdiction of the Doge and employed by the Esaminador, Mobile, Procurator and Proprio courts. Venetian legislation required the public announcement at San Marco, Rialto and in the parish church concerned whenever property was sold or transferred and whenever an oral will was made (*il levar de testamenti per brevario*).²⁵ The *comandadori* of the Esaminador court, made these proclamations (*stride*) on successive Sundays. The Proprio recorded *chiamori*, protests (literally shouts) against

25. The *Pratica del palazzo veneto* added for the first time by the printer B. Benalio to his 1528 edition of the statutes, the *Volumine Statorum*, noted "il qual commandador va in tutte quelle giesie dove sono quelle propriet  in caso che li fusseno in pi  contrade et in giorno de Domenega strida in esse giesie", 4.

specific transfers of property or against building-work thought to infringe property rights. 26

Firstly, these registers represent a valuable and as yet unexploited source base from which we can reconstruct at various points a clear and detailed profile of property-owners in specific areas.²⁷ Secondly, they enable us to feel the pulse of building activity and the property market in San Polo.

The Great Council decreed in 1413 that four *ministeriali*, accompanied by notaries had to note down property limits, registering them with the courts within three days. The notebooks (*libretti*) of these *commandatori* until at least 1478 were the only official record of properties that changed hands. Nevertheless they were full of many "inadvertent" errors. Therefore it was decided in 1471 that notaries should register all those acts in one parchment book, divided by *sestiere*, a law unenforced seven years later. Notaries were threatened with dismissal if they failed to implement the decree, but it too appears to have been completely ignored. The Great Council was equally determined to tolerate no longer the ignominy of these registers being openly consulted and even stolen. "*Le scritture d'i stabeli*", after the comandador's death, were to be locked away in a room next to the Proprio court in the

26. *Chiamor* cases brought before the Proprio court are can be found in the series Proprio, *Lezze e giudice delegato*, R.6, (1455-57), R.7, (1461-66), R.8, (1468), R.9, (1476-78), R.10, (1478-79).

27. E.Crouzet-Pavan has analysed 14 scattered registers of *Quattro Ministeriali*, *Stride and Chiamori* in her two-volume work which appeared in 1992 (see n.19). I have examined registers 34-79.

Ducal Palace.²⁸ Those are the registers that are now conserved in the State Archives.

The first dates from December 1396 and a further seventy-nine registers cover the whole of the fifteenth century. *Chiamori* and *stride* were noted in separate books. Some are little more than a few folios and cover only a couple of years, others cover two decades.²⁹ Each *comandador* appears to have worked in a few neighbouring parishes, but his exact round is unclear, as they were not simply responsible for a single *sestiere*. "From the steps at Rialto" these officials also made a whole series of proclamations; from publicly condemning those who sold flour outside the Warehouse to denouncing outlaws.³⁰

Ostensibly to protect rights of pre-emption in cases involving the alienation of property, next-of kin and neighbours ("*propinqui e laterani*") were officially informed by *comandadori* acting on behalf of the Esaminador judges. ³¹ In fact, the notification served just as much to protect the buyer from any subsequent pre-emption claims. Most importantly, lists of neighbours notified by these agents

28. MC, Regina, 28.9.1471, 102r ; *ibid.*, 176v, published in G.Lorenzi, *Monumenti per servire alla storia del Palazzo Ducale di Venezia. Parte I dal 1253 al 1600*, Venezia, (1868), doc. 191, 87-88, (11.5.1478); M.Sanudo, *Le Vite dei Dogi (1474-1494)*, ed. A.Aricò, Editrice Antenore, Padova, (1989), Vol.I, f.57r, 117 .

29. For instance, reg.62 covers only between May 26th and July 17th 1477, whilst reg.68 contains proclamations between 17 November 1479 and July 1501.

30. Dieci, Misti, 18, f.178r-v, 16.9.1475; *ibid.*, 20, f.154r-v, 28.3.1482.

31. E.Besta, R.Predelli, 'Gli statuti civili di Venezia anteriori al 1242, editi per la prima volta di Enrico Besta e Riccardo Predelli', NAV, n.s.I, Part I, (1901), 63. This practice was regularized in 1226, under Doge Pietro Ziani.

are transcribed in their registers.³² Although sparse in their coverage, these lists provide precise and detailed cross-sections of property-owners in each parish.

I also made extensive use of papers relating to the Zane family in the Library of the Museo Civico Correr. Like those of the Dandolo, described by Professor Juergen Schulz, they remain uncatalogued, "but proper names occurring in them are indexed in the Library's card index of its series of *"Manoscritti di Provenienze Diverse"*.³³ Archives of individual families are often poorly catalogued; as for instance, the huge collection of manuscripts relating to the Pesaro family in the Archivio Privato Gradenigo; its published inventory no longer corresponds to the current numbering of the *buste*.

Much evidence was also drawn from much-better known sources: estate records (*commissarie*) administered by the Procurators of St. Mark's (this *sestiere* fell within the responsibility of the *de ultra* division) and the deliberations of major legislative councils (the Senate, Collegio and Council of Ten).

(II) *METHODOLOGY*

This thesis has obvious parallels with the genre of *microstoria*, which evolved during the late 1970's around the journal *Quaderni storici* and to which the Turin publisher,

32. The notice was known as a *cognito* or *cuito/chuito*. Also B. Benalio, *Practica del palazzo veneto*, op.cit., 8. (*Cogniti* had to be noted "*suso el libro del commandador, li qual cogniti durano un mese*").

33. J. Schulz, 'The houses of Titian, Aretino and Sansovino', in D. Rosand (ed.), *Titian, His World and Legacy*, Columbia University Press, New York, (1982), n.85, 115.

Einaudi has devoted an entire series.³⁴ All these researches are characterized by the intense analysis of a single community, small groups of families or even individuals, studied as a sort of "testing ground" for concepts and generalizations elaborated on a macrohistorical scale. I share their "strongly expressed desire" "to study society not as an object endowed with certain properties, but as a set of shifting interrelations within configurations that are constantly adapting".³⁵ Moreover, Carlo Ginzburg and Carlo Poni proposed a research method which centred on tracing names as a guiding thread for reconstructing the "network of social relationships into which the individual is inserted". Bit by bit, rough biographies could emerge to achieve a "sort of prosopography from below".³⁶ Because so much evidence on individual families was scattered over so many diverse sources, it seemed especially appropriate in researching this thesis to use names as a guiding thread.

An initial core of names was extracted from the *Redecima* of 1514, in order to trace back families resident in the *sestiere* a generation earlier. Further indices of names were

34. See E. Muir, G. Ruggiero, *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe. Selections from Quaderni storici*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, (1991).

35. "Plus importante me paraît la volonté fortement affirmée d'étudier le social non pas comme objet doté de propriétés, mais comme un ensemble d'interrelations mouvantes à l'intérieur de configurations en constante adaptation": J. Revel, 'L'histoire au ras du sol', introduction to G. Levi, *Le pouvoir au village, Histoire d'un exorciste dans le Piémont du XVIIe siècle*, Bibliothèques des Histoires, Editions Gallimard, (1989), XII; Keith Wrightson puts forward a strikingly similar approach in his book, *English Society 1580-1680*, Hutchinson, London, (1982), 12: "Society is a process. It is never static. Even its most apparently stable structures are the expression of an equilibrium between dynamic forces".

36. C. Ginzburg, C. Poni, 'Il nome e il come: scambio ineguale e mercato storiografico', *Quaderni storici*, (1979), 181-90.

painstakingly compiled from wills, *commissarie* and from the membership rolls of confraternities. Through elaborate cross-referencing, it then became possible to construct "rough biographies" of specific families and individuals.

For instance, the *Curia di Petizion*, a busy civil court dealt with "all cases and differences springing from some promise or some oral or written contract". Often described as "almost Venice's podestà", the three patrician judges heard "the petitions of wards, and widows and executors", as well as litigations between "masters", merchants and their agents, in which sums over 50 ducats were involved.³⁷ Through cross-references, I was able to identify people from the *sestiere* who appeared in cases, even though their residence was hardly ever stated in those records.

Amongst the studies devoted to neighbourhoods in Renaissance Italy, the closest to my own methodological approach can be found in that produced by a team of researchers on a Roman district, the *Rione Parione* during the pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471-84). As censuses, fiscal and parochial records were lacking, the équipe analysed 1423 notarial acts, building up a series of files (*schedari*): personal and place-names, trades, places of origin and the typology of the records themselves.³⁸

37. On this court, see G.Cassandro., 'La Curia di Petizion', *Archivio Veneto*, ser.V., XIX, (1936), 72-144; XX, (1937), 1-210; Quote from Anon., *Description ou traité du gouvernement de Venise ou régime de la cité et seigneurie de Venise*, (BN, Fonds Français 5599) in *ibid.*, XX, 23; See also M.Sanudo., *De origine, situ e magistratibus urbis*, op.cit., 120; Both Sanudo and a Great Council law of September 25th 1482 likened the judges to a *podestà*.

38. D.Barbalunga, P.Chirubini, G.Curcio, A.Esposito, A.Modigliani, M.Procaccia, 'Il Rione Parione durante il Pontificato Sistino. Analisi di un Area Campione', in M.Miglio, F.Ninitta, D.Quagliani, C.Ranieri (eds.), *Un Pontificato ed Una Città, Sisto IV (1471-84)*, Atti del Convegno, Roma 3-7

I am convinced that to understand neighbourhood we need to see it not as an abstract "structure" or category but as a relationship, defined by people as they lived and experienced their own history.³⁹ If we follow this argument, generalisations are only possible if they are placed firmly within specific historical contexts, above all within a particular equilibrium of social relations.⁴⁰

This work also owes a great deal to the vast and still growing literature concerning family structures and strategies in late medieval Italy, with the some of the most stimulating researches undertaken with Florentine evidence.

In 1968, Richard Goldthwaite sparked debate by pointing to a "seismic shift from extended to nuclear households in the fifteenth century" as medieval clans and solidarities dissolved. Conversely, F.W.Kent's analysis of three patrician families argued that the lineage was not only a potent ideal but formed part of their daily lives.⁴¹

In recent work, family forms appear increasingly fluid and more flexible in adapting to change.⁴² We have penetrated

December 1984, Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, Lettere Antiqua V, Città del Vaticano, (1986), 643-744.

39. An approach first suggested by F.W.Kent, adapted from E.P.Thompson's Preface to his his monumental *The Making of the English Working Class*, Victor Gollanz, London, (1963), 9: see 'Ties of Neighbourhood and Patronage in Quattrocento Florence', in F.W.Kent, P.Simons (eds.), *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, (1987), 97-98.

40. See E.P.Thompson's comments on "popular culture" in his *Customs in Common*, pbk.ed., Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, (1993), 6-7.

41. See R.Goldthwaite, *Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, (1968); F.W.Kent, *Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence: the Family Life of the Capponi, Ginori and Rucellai*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, (1977) instead argued that the lineage was not only a potent ideal but also part of the daily lives of Florentine patricians.

42. F.W.Kent, 'La famiglia patrizia nel '400. Nuovi orientamenti nella storiografia recente', in *Palazzo Strozzi. Metà Millennio 1489-1989*, Atti del convegno di studi, Firenze, 3-6 Luglio 1989, Roma, (1991), 70-91; See also the comments of Anthony Molho in his *Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence*, Harvard Historical Studies 114, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., (1994), 3-5.

much further into the inner lives of families, how legal emancipation was one way of coping with the tensions that so often arose between fathers and sons.⁴³ Considerable attention has also been devoted to the marriage strategies they adopted, wider kinship ties and in a remarkable article on the Niccolini family, Christiane Klapisch-Zuber examined the ways in which friendship and ties of neighbourhood both reinforced kinship networks and filled in gaps where kinship did not operate.⁴⁴ In contrast, research into Venetian families remains undeveloped, despite some excellent studies.⁴⁵

During the latter stages of my research, I was interested to read Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan's study of the Venetian parish of San Barnaba during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. She relied heavily on the records of priest-notaries, sampling 261 wills in the first three decades of the *Quattrocento* and a further 60 in the closing years of the century. Through case-studies of two noble lineages (the

43. See T.Kuehn, *Emancipation in Late Medieval Florence*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, (1982); the reasons behind the disintegration of a magnate family are also analyzed in R.Bizzocchi, 'La dissoluzione di un clan familiare: i Buondelmonti di Firenze nei secoli XV e XVI', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, CXL, (1982), 3-45

44. A.Molho, op.cit.; P.Fabbri, *Alleanza matrimoniale e patriziato nella Firenze del '400. Studio sulla famiglia Strozzi*, Firenze, (1991); C.Klapisch-Zuber, 'Parenti, amici, vicini: II territorio urbano di una famiglia mercantile nel XV secolo', *Quaderni storici*, XI, (1976), 953-82: this article also appears in her *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. L.Cochrane, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, (1985), 68-93.

45. These include Stanley Chojnacki's studies of kinship ties, dowries and patrician women (see bibliography); J.Davis, *A Venetian family and its Fortune, 1500-1900: the Donà and the Conservation of their Wealth*, *Memoirs of The American Philosophical Society*, 106, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, (1975); G.Gullino, *I Pisani dal Banco e Moretta. Storia di due famiglie veneziane in età moderna e delle loro vicende patrimoniale tra 1705 e 1836*, Istituto Storico Italiano, Roma, (1984); and Dennis Romano's chapter 'Family Ties and Marriage Ties', in his *Patricians and Popolani. The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, (1987), 39-64.

Manolesso and Trevisan) and *cittadino* families (the Saraton, Istrego, and Ravagnan) she attempts to chart the disintegration of traditional solidarities. For Crouzet-Pavan, the history of this *contrada* is one of progressive decline as the city became unified.⁴⁶

The fact remains that perhaps no other city is so unmistakably distinctive. The unique features of Venetian neighbourhood can perhaps emerge most clearly through comparison with studies of localities in Florence, Genoa and Rome.

(III) COMPARISONS AND CONTRASTS

Florence was still effectively a republic in a way that Venice was not; the Florentine political system was built on the participation of the sixteen *gonfaloní* into which the city was divided. The leading families used *gonfaloní* as their power bases, whereas in Venice authority emanated from the centre.

One of the smallest *gonfaloní*, Lion Rosso (the Red Lion), comprising the parishes of San Pancrazio and San Paolo is the subject of a well-known book by the Kents. They emphasized the enduring strength of neighbourhood ties and the essential role played by *gonfaloní* in the assessment of taxes and the determination of eligibility for office-holding.⁴⁷

46. E.Crouzet-Pavan, "Sopra le acque salse", op.cit., I, 569-607, ('La contrada et son sens-L'Exemple de San Barnaba').

47. F.W and D.Kent, *Neighbours and Neighbourhood in Renaissance Florence: The District of the Red Lion in the Fifteenth Century*, Harvard I Tatti Studies 6, J.J.Augustin, Locust Valley, New York, (1982).

Raw lists of candidates voted on by city-wide scrutiny councils were drawn up by the sixteen *Gonfalonieri di Compagnia* (appointed from each district) who formed one of the two advisory bodies to the *Signoria* and whose assent to any legislative proposal was necessary. Local committees also had a substantial share in assessing and collecting *prestanze* (forced loans), until the *catasto* was reinstituted in 1458.

This makes an intriguing contrast with Venice, where by "far the largest number of offices were decided by elections held in the Great Council." Candidates were selected and approved by nominating committees (or "hands") of nine members each chosen by lot from members of the *Maggior Consiglio*.⁴⁸ Forced loans (*prestiti*) were assessed against personal declarations (*conditiones*) and *estimi* (fiscal registers), revised by ad hoc commissions of *savi*. From 1463, when tenths (*decime*) were first levied, revenue was raised on the basis of tax returns checked against massive property surveys (*catastici*).⁴⁹ Yet we must be cautious in drawing parallels.

The Kents' study was based on notarial acts recording formal meetings of the district between 1423 and 1463 and does not cover the last thirty-five years of the century. They have emphasized that "with the reintroduction in 1458 of the *catasto*, the administration of taxation left local

48. D. Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate. Reality versus Myth*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago, (1986), 55.

49. See chapter 7.

hands, and it is almost certainly no coincidence that we have yet to find district meetings from the mid-1460's onwards".⁵⁰ It is also been claimed (by Sam Cohn) that San Pancrazio and San Paolo became much smaller communities during the late *Quattrocento* "with only a very thin layer from the popular classes".⁵¹ Similarly, the building of the massive Strozzi palace on Via Tuornabuoni from 1489 may also have had social repercussions ⁵².

Despite these problems, we can identify clear differences. Florentines constantly associated their *parenti, amici e vicini* (kin, friends and neighbours). I have never found this phrase invoked in the wills and papers of Venetian families, nor in judicial records. Undeniably, the pressures on Florentine patricians to remain in ancestral districts were strong until the mid-1460's and there is much evidence of local networks of patronage up to then. Although a slightly anomalous case, by 1426 families such as the Dietisalvi, Ginori, Martelli, Orlandini, Pucci and Ricci had "clustered under the lengthening shadow of the Medici" in the quarter of San Giovanni and especially in the *gonfalone* of Lion d'Oro.⁵³ But in Venice, there is no evidence of

50. Ibid., 82, 175-179; F.W.Kent, 'Ties of Neighbourhood', art.cit., 89.

51. S.K.Cohn Jr., *The Laboring Classes in Renaissance Florence*, Academic Press, New York, (1980), 124.

52. "The Strozzi palace.,occupied a block that had been gutted of a house with a tower belonging to the counts of Poppo, a "large house" with three shops on the ground floor, four other houses, and nine separate shops", in an already congested fabric of housing": R.Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence. An Economic and Social History*, Johns Hopkins University Press, pbk.ed., (1982), 16; Cf. C.Elam, 'Il palazzo nel contesto della città: strategie urbanistiche dei Medici nel Gonfalone del Leon d'Oro, 1415-1530', in G.Chelubini, G.Panelli (ed.), *Palazzo Medici Riccardi Di Firenze*, Firenze, (1990), 44-57.

53. D.Kent, *The Rise of the Medici. Faction in Florence 1426-1434*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, (1978); See F.W and D.Kent, *Neighbours and Neighbourhood*, op.cit., chapter 5 for patronage in Lion

local patronage networks, nor of letters of *raccomandazione* from clients to a powerful protector in the district.⁵⁴

With Genoa the contrasts are all the more striking. By 1134, Genoa was divided into eight converging segments or *compagne*, which only began to be defined in the *Quattrocento* as narrow strips which formed a fan along the line of the coast. But *compagne* failed to forge the social and economic ties of community, as did the five or six much smaller *conestaglie* into which each was divided. Instead noble families secured their political base by transforming neighbourhoods into fortified enclaves.⁵⁵ From the mid-thirteenth century Genoa's ruling class met the challenge of factional strife by organising themselves into *alberghi* or artificial clans, each linked to a particular district.

Alberghi still dominated two hundred years later. The lineages composing them were increasingly linked by territorial rather than blood ties; in 1460 the Pallavicini,

Rosso. It is also important to stress that we can find examples of Florentine patrician families clustering within certain *gonfalon*i in the 1426 *catasto*. The most arresting examples include the Albizzi, who were split into twenty-eight families (147 persons in total). All were resident in the *gonfalone* of Chiavi, S.Giovanni; the twenty-three Altoviti families (113 persons) were similarly all residents of the *gonfalone* of Vipera, S.Maria Novella; S.Raveggi, 'Gli aristocratici in città: considerazioni sul caso di Firenze (secc.XIII-XV)', in *D'une ville à l'autre, Structures matérielles et organisation de l'espace dans les villes européennes (XIIIe -XVIe siècle)*, ed. J.C.Maire Vigueur, Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome, CXXII, Roma, (1989), 83.

54. It has been suggested that 'non-contractual ties between 'friends' (patrons and clients) in an aristocratic republic like Florence bear a family resemblance to these more formal structures of so-called bastard feudalism': F.W Kent, P.Simons, 'Renaissance Patronage: An Introductory Essay', in *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy*, op.cit., 1; We have to go as far back as 1266 to find a statute outlawing even the threat of similar practices in Venice: "*Quod nullus homo in Veneciis parvus vel magnus possit nec debeat habere in scutis, larmeriis, capellinis, cuppis, banderiis, vel alii arnesiis, aut in aliquibus armis, nec a modo faciat fieri, et illi, qui habent, faciant destruere infra dies XV*": quoted in G.Cracco, *Società e Stato nel medioevo veneziano (secoli XII-XIV)*, Leo S.Olschki, Firenze, (1967), 232, n.1.

55. D.Hughes, 'Urban Growth and Family Structure in Medieval Genoa', *Past and Present*, LXVI, (1975), 3-28; idem., 'Kinsmen and Neighbors in Medieval Genoa', in H.Mismikin, D.Herlihy, A.L.Udovitch (eds.), *The Medieval City*, Yale University Press, New York, (1977), 95-112.

Ricii, Falamonica and Calvi who all resided around the church of San Pancrazio agreed to adopt in perpetuity the surname and coat-of-arms of their neighbours, the Gentile.⁵⁶ Anselmo Adorno, a Genoese merchant resident at Bruges, passing through his native city on pilgrimage to the Holy Land noted "usually all the members of a *parentate* or a lineage reside together in the same quarter or around the same square. Sometimes they have a common church there and a house with a loggia where all the members of the family meet everyday".⁵⁷ This impression is confirmed by the 1463 *Possessionum Gabella*, recording 888 households from 58 *alberghi*: of these 846 were located in their quarter, along a single street or around a single *piazza*. The members of the great *alberghi*, the Doria, Grimaldi and Lomellini were especially grouped together. The Spinola formed two distinct groups but each firmly associated with one district: 31 of the 36 Spinola di Luccoli owned houses at Soziglia, 62 out of 67 Spinola de Santa Lucca lived around the square named after them.⁵⁸

Venetian noble families were scattered all over the city, though I will argue that we can identify extremely complex patterns of residence, with clusters of several lines of a family within single and adjoining parishes. But the desire

56. E.Grendi, 'Profilo storico degli alberghi genovesi', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome (Moyen Age-Temps modernes)* LXXXVII, (1975), 241-302

57. Quoted in J.Heers, *Le clan familial au Moyen Age*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, (1974), 174.

58. Ibid., 160; idem., 'Urbanisme e structure sociale à Gênes au Moyen Age', in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*, I, Milano, (1962), 371-412; See also the extremely detailed maps painstakingly reconstructed of noble abodes in 1414 by Luciano Grossi Bianchi for *Una Città portuale del Medioevo. Genova nei secoli X-XVI*, Sagep editore, Genova, (1980), 165ff.

to concentrate family property within a particular *contrada* was exceptional: in 1537, we can identify 629 "family complexes" comprising more than five adjoining properties, but well over half of these were just small groups of outbuildings, shops and/or warehouses. Only 46 cases were counted of complexes between twenty and thirty properties, whilst a mere four exceeded forty properties, two of which were in San Polo: those of Benetto Zulian in the parish of San Mattio de Rialto and those of a branch of the Zane family in San Stin.⁵⁹

A sense of neighbourhood in Genoa between *popolari* appears to have centred not on administrative units but on *vicinie* or *contrade* of a few streets around a local church. In February 1447, the heads of 102 families from the *vicinia* of San Donato created a sworn association. New residents could only be admitted if they obtained the consent of three-quarters of their neighbours. Those who moved away were excluded. Every six months, at least 40 neighbours were to elect four officials and four "matrons" responsible for suppressing factional divisions, enforcing morals and organizing feasts, weddings and funerals in their loggia. All meetings were to take place in the cloister of San Donato..

Though formal associations of neighbours are unknown in Venice, contemporaries recognized similarly 'unofficial' neighbourhoods: the "*contrata*" of *Barbaria delle Tole*, where

59. E. Concina, *Venezia nell'età moderna*, op.cit., 29-30.

woodyards cluttered the waterfront immediately east of the huge Dominican church of San Giovanni e Paolo (Castello); *Birri Grande* and *Birri Piccolo* within the vast and undeveloped parish of San Canciano (Cannaregio); and the Ghetto ("el getto"), an island in the parish of San Marcuola (Cannaregio) used as a dumping ground for waste (*ruinazzo*) from the public copper foundries.⁶⁰ Otherwise the neighbourhood was the parish: hence the terms *parochia* *contrá\contrata* and *confinium* were used interchangeably. But this thesis will suggest that *sestieri* never became effective neighbourhoods.

One of the central Roman *rioni*, Parione was densely inhabited, with a high proportion of commercial and food trades. Although already established as a focus of artisanal activities (such as book production around Campo dei Fiori), the district's commercial character was accentuated when the great weekly market was moved in 1477 from below the Campidoglio to Piazza dell'Agone (Piazza Navona).⁶¹ The strongly commercial character of this district shows similarities with San Polo's central parishes. However, the *rione's* immigrant population was far larger: though under-represented in the documents, 566 foreigners were identified

60. "Contrata Barbaria delle Tole", 19.3.1462, Senato, Terra, 5, f.3r;

61. A.Esposito, 'Osservazioni sulla Popolazione Rionale', in *ibid.*, 649-663; The two most densely populated regions of Rome according to censuses of 1517 and 1526-7 were Ponte and Parione; cf. the figures based on different criteria in P.Partner, *Renaissance Rome 1500-1559. A Portrait of a Society*, University of California Press, Berkeley, (1976), 83; L.Antonucci, 'Rilevazioni demografiche generali sulla popolazione di Roma nel XVI secolo', in P.Chelubini (ed.), *Roma e lo Studium Urbis. Spazio urbano e cultura dal Quattrocento al Seicento*, Casa Editrice Quasar, Roma, (1989), 61-63; Further estimates can be found in the unpublished thesis by Vera de Haas, *Urban Development in Quattrocento Rome: the Rioni Ponte and Parione, 1450-1484*, University of Calgary, (1979), 65-108 (not seen).

out of a total of 1500 persons.⁶² It has been estimated that only about a quarter of householders listed in the entire census of 1526-7 were natives "and local loyalties inevitably therefore took a rather different form to those in other Italian cultural centres" (Nicholas Davidson).⁶³ Parione was also characterized by the presence of a chain of trades connected with horses (as the *forum equorum* stood behind Piazza S.Lorenzo in Damaso) and a fair proportion of curial officials, all obviously absent from San Polo.

62. A.Esposito, 'Osservazioni', art.cit., 653, 660.

63. N.Davidson, 'Rome', in *The Renaissance in national context*, ed. R.Porter, M.Teich, Cambridge University Press, (1992), 45.

CHAPTER 1. DEFINING THE SESTIERE

1.1. TOPOGRAPHY.

The *sestiere* of San Polo hugs the middle stretch of the Grand Canal, on the left bank. Here the canal sharply bends and at the apex of the curve stands Rialto, protected on three sides. In the late fifteenth-century, the *sestiere* was traversed by twenty canals (*rii*) and encompassed the following nine *contrade*: San Polo, Sant'Agostin, Sant'Aponal, San Silvestro, San Giovanni Elemosinario, San Matteo de Rialto, San Boldo, San Stefano Confessore and San Tomà (see map overleaf).

This is no longer the case. After the French poured back into Venice after 1805, having smashed the Austrians at Austerlitz, to remain in possession of the city for almost ten years, parish boundaries were radically redrawn, "with flagrant disregard for their great antiquity".¹ In the following half century, as dozens of canals were filled in to combine Venice's streets into a continuous network, ancient limits became increasingly fainter and forgotten.²

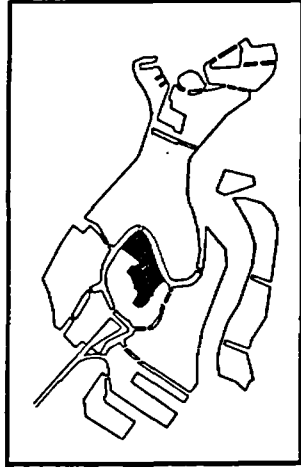
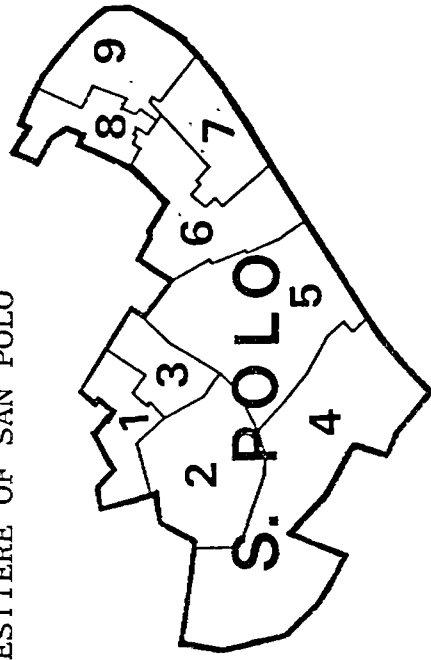
1. In San Polo, the parishes of S.Aponal, S.Boldo, S.Matteo di Rialto, San Giovanni di Rialto, S.Agostin, San Tomà and San Stin were all suppressed between 1807 and 1810. The church of the Frari became the seat of a new parish, whilst the churches of San Boldo, San Matteo, Sant'Agostin and San Stin were all demolished: A.Zorzi, *Venezia Scomparsa. Repertorio degli edifici veneziani distrutti, alterati o manomessi*, Banca Cattolica del Veneto, Electa, Milano (1972), II, 308, 321, 374, 387-88. Descriptions of the enlargements and suppressions of parishes under the Napoleonic administration are published in Giovanni Battista Paganuzzi, *Iconografia delle Trenta Parocchie di Venezia*, text by G.M. Dezan, Venezia (1821); Quote from D.Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice*, B.T.Batsford, London, (1980), 214.

2. By mid-century, the face of San Polo had been completely altered by the loss of twelve canals: Rio San Stin, Rio della Parucchetta, Rio Sant'Agostin, Rio dei Nòmboli, Rio dei Frari and part of the canal along Fondamenta S.Antonio (shortly after 1802); most of Rio San Silvestro, Rio delle Carampane, and Rio dei Meloni (1840-44); Rio della Scoazzera (1844-45); the remainder of Rio San Silvestro, Rio dell'Olio and Rio del Pontego (1846): G.Zuchetta, *I rii di Venezia. La storia degli ultimi tre secoli*, Helvetia Editore, Venezia, (1985), 53; see also G.D.Romanelli, *Venezia Ottocento*.

Parish boundaries in 1537.
From E. Concina, *Venezia nell'età moderna*.

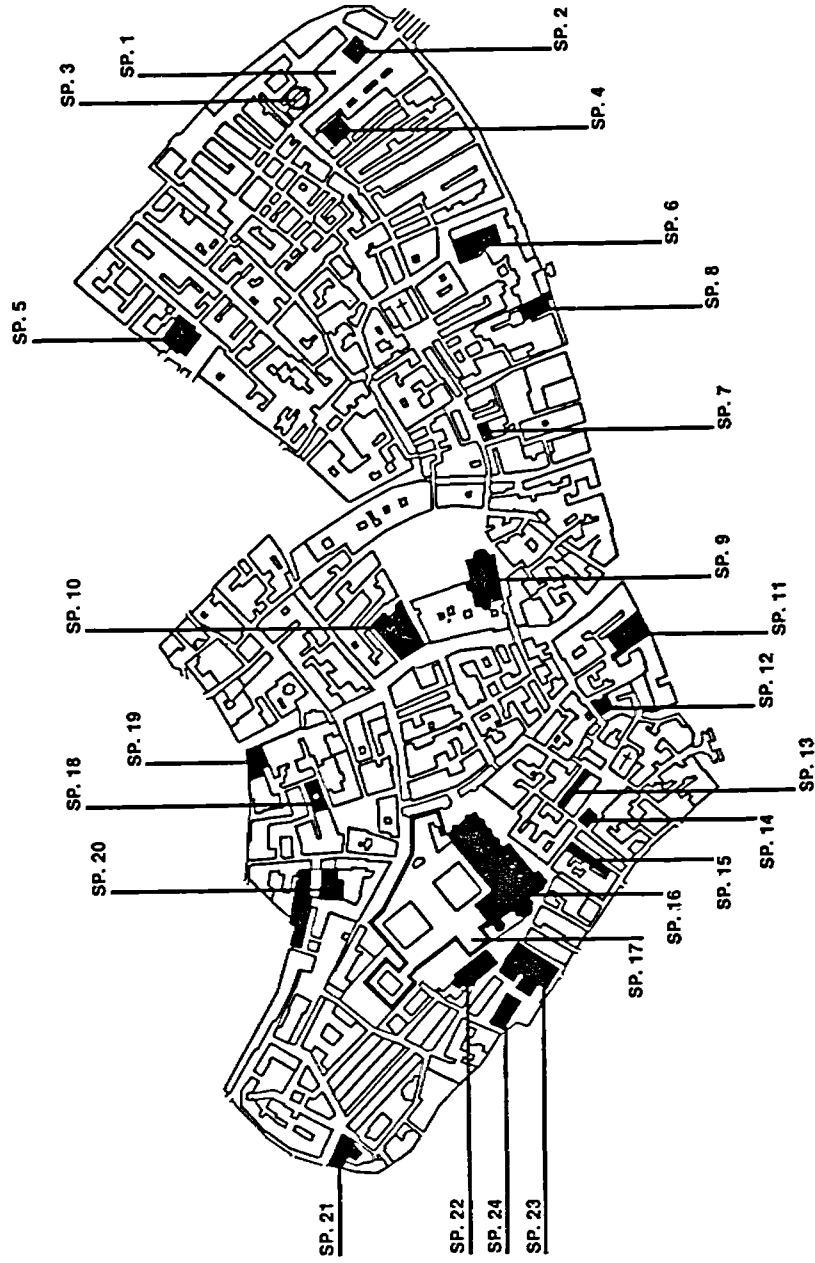
1. San Boldo
2. San Stin
3. Sant'Agostin
4. San Tomà
5. San Polo
6. Sant'Aponal
7. San Silvestro
8. San Matteo
9. San Giovanni Elemosinario

THE SESTIERE OF SAN POLO



Planimetry of the present-day sestiere (below).

- SP. 1 Rialto
- SP. 2 Campo S. Giacomo
di Rialto
- SP. 3 Calle della Scurtà and Sottoportico del
Banco Giro
- SP. 4 Church of San Giovanni Elemosinario
- SP. 5 Church of San Cassiano
- SP. 6 Church of San Silvestro
- SP. 7 Gothic houses in Campiello Meloni
- SP. 8 Ca' Barzizza
- SP. 9 Campo San Polo
- SP. 10 Ca' Corner Mocenigo
- SP. 11 Ca' Pisani Moretta
- SP. 12 Ca' Centani
- SP. 13 Row houses at San Tomà
- SP. 14 Scuola dei Calegheri
- SP. 15 Rental houses in Calle Gozzi
- SP. 16 Frari church
- SP. 17 State Archives
- SP. 18 Building in Campo San Stin
- SP. 19 Palazzo Zane at San Stin
- SP. 20 Church and Scuola of
San Giovanni Evangelista
- SP. 21 Domus civica and apartment block
at San Rocco
- SP. 22 Church of San Rocco
- SP. 23 Scuola Grande of San Rocco.
- SP. 24 Castelforte San Rocco



By 1834, when street names and house numbers were regularized, the *sestiere* of San Polo was described as ending at "Ponte dei Morti, San Cassiano". Thus its boundary currently cuts through the parish of San Cassiano, whereas for centuries it ran along its border, Rio delle Beccarie.³

Jacopo de'Barbari's view is invaluable for sketching the changing topography of the district in this period. The descriptions of the city by Marc'Antonio Sabellico (1489) and Marin Sanudo (1493) virtually provide its "literary equivalent".⁴

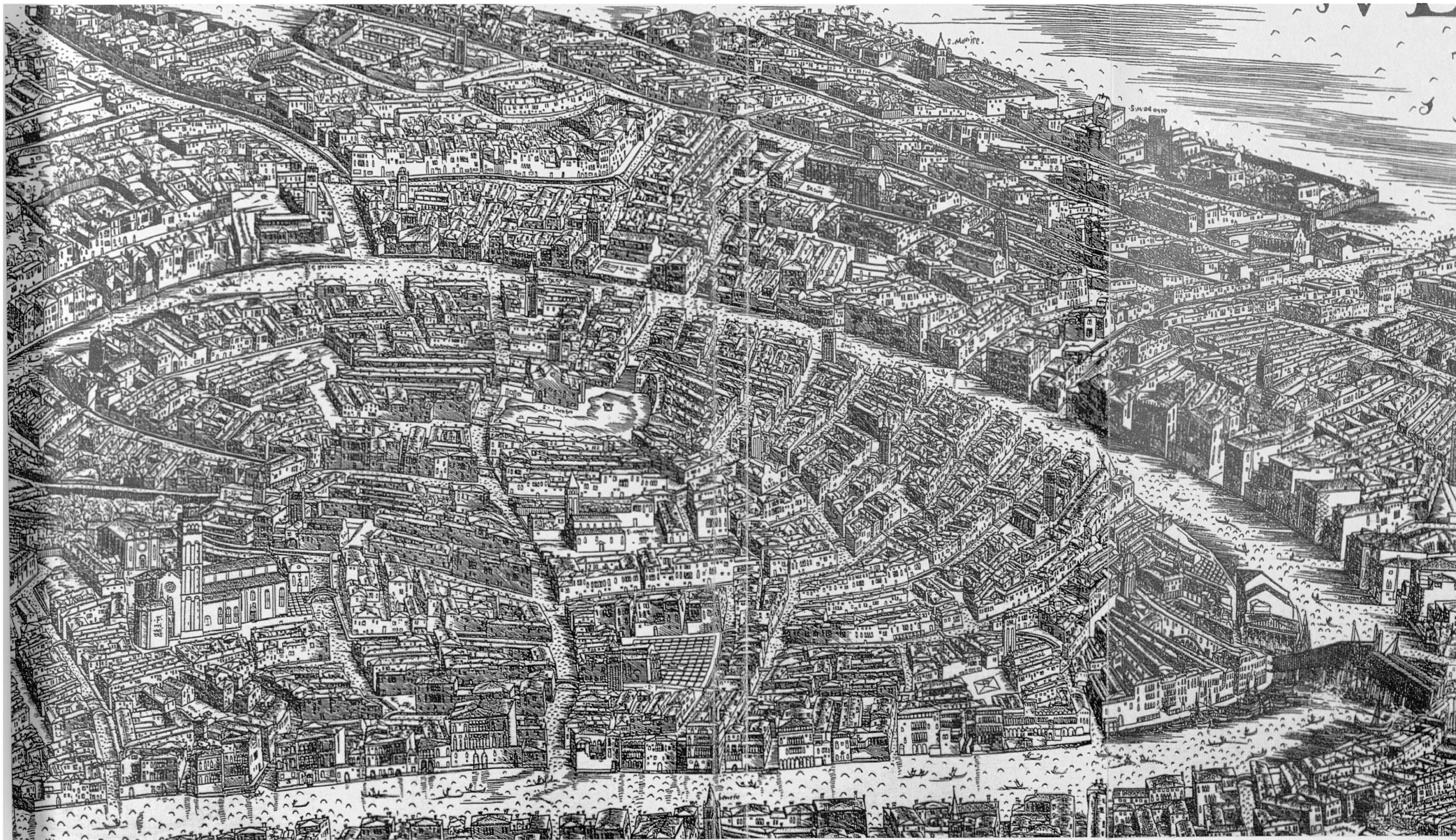
Yet they open up quite different realities. Jacopo presents the *sestiere* almost as a coherent whole. "The detailed modelling of the city's buildings gives the entire fabric a uniform gray tone that sets it off from the more distant zones and draws it together, into a compact entity".⁵ These texts fracture this unbroken vision. Rialto is presented as a quite separate district, an "island". In fact, the market and its surrounds, corresponding roughly to the parishes of San Silvestro, San Giovanni di Rialto and

Materiali per una storia architettonica e urbanistica della città nell' secolo XIX, Officina, Roma, (1977). The canal which ran along the eastern edge of Campo San Polo, known as Rio di Sant'Antonio, was filled in 1761: all that remains is the Rielo di S. Antonio, which flows twenty metres into Rio San Polo.

3. For the "fixing" of addresses and street names, between 1833-1841, see M. de Biasi, *Toponomastica a Venezia*, Conferenza all'Ateneo Veneto 3 Dicembre 1981, Comune di Venezia, Ufficio Affari Istituzionali, Venezia, (1981), 22; in 1846, Bernardo and Gaetano Combatti produced a *Nuova Planimetria della Città di Venezia*, with lists of street names "secondo la progressione di numeri anagrafici" by F. Berlan (P. Naratovich, Venezia). The original limits of San Cassiano are described in great detail in G.B. Gallicciolli, *Delle memorie venete antiche profane ed ecclesiastiche libri tre raccolte di Giambattista Gallicciolli*, Tip. D. Fracassi, Venezia, (1795), Book 3, cap. I, 128-136.

4. M. A. Coccio Sabellico, *De situ urbis Venetae libri tres*, in *Opera Omnia*, Vol. III, Iohannem Hervagium, Basle, (1560); M. Sanudo, *Laus urbis Venetae*, op.cit.; Sabellico stated in the preface his intention was to express Venice's "true image as in a painting".

5. J. Schulz, 'Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice', art.cit., 430.



The sestiere of San Polo: detail from Jacopo de' Barbari's view of Venice (1500, Museo Civico Correr)

San Matteo di Rialto (the "*insula Rivoalti*"), was an entirely separate jurisdiction, from as early as 1277.⁶ This area was more or less bounded by the Grand Canal, Rio del Fondaco della Farina and Rio delle Beccarie.⁷

At one limit stood the grain warehouse, overlooking the Canal at the end of the Riva del Ferro ("so called because iron is sold there"), which ran up to the Rialto Bridge. Lining the embankment were various magistracies: the Salt Office, *Dogana di Terra* (customs house), *Dazio del Vin*, *Messetaria*, the *Stimaria* (public weighhouse) jostling with stores, warehouses and shops.⁸ Running northwest from the bridge, the Ruga di Oresi widens into a *piazzetta*. Here, in the shadow of the church of San Giacomo, "almost all the city" came together "morning and evening for their business" (Sabellico).

6. R.Cessi, A.Alberti, *Rialto, L'isola, il ponte, il mercato*, Zanichelli, Bologna, (1934), 11-12 and n.2. Use of the term "*ixola de Rialto/insula Rivoalti*": Senato, Terra, 3, c.89r, (7.12.1453); Avogaria di Commun, Raspe, 3653/13, f.175r, (9.5.1468); GdP, Sentenze a Giustizia, 150, f.123v (22.9.1474); Compilazione Leggi, *Capi-sestieri*, b.509, (10.1.1484); Provveditori al Sal, b.59, Notatorio I, f.58r, (2.9.1485); Provveditori al Sal, b.6, r.4, c.24r, (28.12.1487). M.Sanudo, *De origine, situ e magistratibus urbis*, ed.Aricò., op.cit., 29, 32;

7. The Rialto area was precisely defined by the Council of Ten on April 6th 1457: Dieci, Misti, 15, 121v. "*intelligendo Rialto in hoc casu*" [...] "along the Riva del Ferro to the right; on the left up to the church up to the church of San Giovanni and from the bell-tower of that church along the street of the goldsmiths' to the Grand Canal, including the "*volte*" and shops on the left, from the corner where Baldesar Olivierii's drapers' shop stands up to the Grand Canal". For another detailed description see Avogaria di Comun, R.2, cap.388, f.163r-166r (1402), quoted in D.Calabi, P.Morachiello, 'Rialto, 1514-1538: gli anni della ricostruzione', in "*Renovatio urbis*". Venezia nell'età di Andrea Gritti (1523-38), ed.M.Tafari, Officina Edizioni, Roma, (1984), 291. They also note that in 1505 the Council of Ten defined the extent of the *insula* as "*tanto quanto la acqua li va intorno*"; Dieci, Misti, R.30, c.176r, 3.12.1505.

8. The *Ternaria* (whose officials levied duties on oil, timber and iron, the "three tables") was moved further along the riva in February 1453 from the *Dogana di Terra* to the old seat of the *Giustizia Vecchia*. The riva during the fifteenth century and the magistracies there are precisely described in D.Calabi, P.Morachiello, *Rialto: le fabbriche, il ponte. 1514-91*, Binaudi, Torino, (1987), 22-23, 27-28.

Stretching behind the *loggia* along the northwestern side of this square, were furriers' shops and bankers' stalls, flanked by the *casaria* and *cordaria* (streets associated with cheesellers and ropemakers).⁹ Further northwest again, was the New Fishmarket (1459), backing onto the *Beccaria* (meatmarket), in the angle between the Grand Canal and Rio delle Beccarie. The stone bridge here marked the edge of both the *isola de Rialto* and the *sestiere* (Sabellico).

The church of San Giovanni Elemosinario loomed over the crossroads of Ruga di Oresi and the pedestrian spine which ran westwards towards Sant'Aponal (Ruga Vecchia San Giovanni-Ruga Ravano-Calle dell'Olio). Leading off this axis were a series of parallel and narrow *calli* (alleys) running down to the *Riva del Vin*. Behind the *fondamenta*, set in a modest campo stood the church of San Silvestro. A dense and congested fabric of housing, separated by a labyrinth of tortuous *calli* lay on the other side of this axis: the *contrada* of San Matteo de Rialto. Here, we can barely discern the church from de'Barbari's view.

Just beyond Rio del Fondaco della Farina on the Grand Canal, was the great Veneto-Byzantine palace of the Patriarchs of Grado, flanked by other Veneto-Byzantine survivals, Ca'Barzizza and Ca'Businello, all within the *contrada* of Sant'Aponal. The parish was not only bisected by Rio Meloni but also included the roughly rectangular islet,

9. The *loggia* replaced the portico of the *telaruoli* (linen sellers, that is of *canevaxe*, *terlix e tele*) torn down in 1459: Senato, Terra, 4, f. 109r, (31.5.1459); *ibid.*, f. 113v-114r (17.7.1459); B.Cessi, A.Alberti, *Rialto*, op.cit., 64-70, Document VI, 317-18. For a more detailed survey of trades and their streets at Rialto, see chapter 4).

the Carampane (bounded by Rii della Madonnetta, San Cassiano, Sant'Aponal and Rampani/Scoazzera).

Due west, De'Barbari clearly shows the church of San Polo, with "its very big, wide and beautiful *campo*", lined by a string of palaces. Nevertheless, a great tear in the physical fabric of the *sestiere* is also visible: Rii San Polo and Sant'Agostin, sections of the arterial route which sliced north-south and flowed into the Grand Canal by the Canal di Cannaregio, bypassing Rialto.

Like San Polo, the church of Sant'Agostin abutted this waterway. Here, there was distinct lack of Veneto-B^{y2}zantine structures; instead backing onto Rio San Polo, were early fourteenth-century buildings, symmetrically arranged around courtyards, with three parallel north-south *calli* and a fourth, running perpendicular to Rio Sant'Agostin. The only notable palace was immediately east, Ca'Soranzo-Pisani, at the south-west corner of the tiny island parish of San Boldo, barely 100 metres across and dominated by its church. West of Sant'Agostin, the urban fabric was less intricate and dense. Housing blocks line the wide street leading to the *campo* and church of Sant Stin. Obscured in de'Barbari's view but only a stone's throw away was the *albergo* (meeting-house) of one of Venice's five great confraternities, the *Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista*, sharing a narrow *campiello* with the church of the same name. A stunning marble screen, sculpted by Piero Lombardo in 1481 and

surmounted with an eagle, symbol of the saint, still marks its southern perimeter.¹⁰

To the south and over a stone bridge (built in 1420), stood the huge convent that formed part of the massive Frari complex.¹¹ (Across lay the main portal of the basilica, flanked by the chapel of the Florentine confraternity).¹² The *Ca'Grande* stretched the entire length of the church and right back as far as the tiny convent of San Nicolò della Lattuga and the Church of San Rocco.¹³ This church, begun by the confraternity of the same name in 1489 (when it was granted the status of a *scuola grande*) lay just inside the *sestiere*. The land a few yards across the *campo*, on which the *scuola* subsequently built its meeting-hall belonged to S.Pantalon and was thus in Dorsoduro.

Rio della Frescada, the western limit of San Tomà which runs off the Grand Canal, also marked the border between the *sestieri*. This parish fairly bristled with fifteenth-century buildings, clustering along the banks of Rio dei Frari and the Grand Canal; Ca' Michiel-Zane and Ca'Marcello in the street leading away from the *traghetto* (ferry-station); Ca'Bondumier and Ca'Giustinian astride the mouth of Rio San Tomà; Ca'Pisani Moretta further east along the Grand Canal,

10. J.McAndrew, *Venetian architecture of the Early Renaissance*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. and London (1980), 144-49

11. Now the State Archives; for the bridge, see p.59 and note 71.

12. The Florentines' chapel was finished in 1442: R.Goffen, *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice: Bellini, Titian and the Franciscans*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, (1986), 16, n.104, 181; G.Bettio, *La 'Fradaja' de missier santo Antonio da Padoa alla 'Ca' Grande' (1439). Studio di documenti inediti*, Venezia, (1912).

13. San Nicolò della Lattuga was founded in 1332 by the Procurator of St. Mark's Nicolò Lion. In 1353 it passed into the possession of the Frari. Only a few scraps relating to the fifteenth century are contained in the archive of the convent.

immediately before Rio San Polo; and the palace of the citizen Rizzo family whose façade follows the curve of the canal towards the Frari.¹⁴

The dense, congested and intricate structure of San Polo's central parishes has much in common with the chain of parishes around Rialto on the opposite side of the Grand Canal: San Giovanni Grisostomo, San Bortolomio, San Lio and San Salvador. Sant'Agostin, however, was less built up than the adjacent Santa Maria Mater Domini (Santa Croce), where tightly packed courtyards cordon the *campo*. The undeveloped *contrada* of San Simeon Grande is strikingly different from San Stin, despite being separated only by Rio di S.Giacomo dell'Orio. Nowhere in the *sestiere* can be compared with an area such as Northern Cannaregio, urbanised much later. The distinctive features of this zone are three straight and parallel *rîi*: Rio di S.Girolamo, Rio della Sensa and Rio della Madonna dell'Orto "which offer such a contrast with the natural, random and tortuous pattern" of San Polo's canals. Development was linear, with houses lining the spacious *fondamente* on their north shore.¹⁵

It is vital to understand that, with the exception of the area to the west of the Frari, the *sestiere* was urbanised at

14. For Ca'Michiel: Esaminador, *Preces*, 11, f.1v (1436) and *QM*, 59, f.12r, (15.7.1476); for Ca'Marcello: *DS*, 1514, San Tomà, b. 71, n.28 (Alvise and Piero Marcello qd Giacomo, "sopra el traghetto"); Hieronimo Marcello qd Antonio is described as living "al trageto" in October 1520: D.Battilotti, M.T.Franco, 'Regesti di Committenti e dei Primi Collezionisti di Giorgione', *Antichità viva*, Anno XVII, ns 4-5, (1978), 54; for Ca'Pisani Moretta (1470?); then owned by a branch of the Bembo family, documented here from 1439: see page 79 and I.Chiappini di Sorio, *I Pisani Moretta e il palazzo di San Polo. Economia, arte, vita sociale di una famiglia patrizia veneziana nel corso del secolo XVII*, Milano, (1983), n.10, 26; On Ca'Bondumier, see page 90.

15. R.Goy, *Chioggia and the villages of the Venetian lagoon*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, (1985), 252-56.

an early date. The donation of the Orio family of their property in San Giovanni Elemosinario to the Republic in 1097 marks the establishment of a public market at Rialto and the beginnings of a shift of mercantile activity to the west bank of the canal (the original centre was at San Bartolomeo), marked by the transfer of the Mint in 1112. The reclamation of an entire parish, San Matteo, between Rio Magadesso (now Rio delle Beccarie) and a pool to the north-east (the *piscina Poncianica*) at mid-century highlighted the dramatic expansion underway.

By the turn of the century, San Matteo had been built up, whereas the form of San Giovanni was relatively unchanged. However at this time, the Gradenigo, whose property dominated the *contrada*, abandoned it as the family fractured into various branches at San Silvestro, San Giovanni Nuovo and San Paternian; the Sanudo of San Matteo similarly settled elsewhere in the city.¹⁶

As Rialto surged towards its role as the undisputed commercial heart of the city in the early decades of the thirteenth century, the *insula* was connected with the neighbouring parishes of Sant'Aponal and San Silvestro. A thoroughfare (the present-day Ruga Ravano) was created in 1226 and two years later it reached Campo Sant'Aponal when a stone bridge was built (Ponte dell'Olio).¹⁷ Rialto overspilled its traditional boundaries with the building of

16. R.Cessi, A.Alberti., *Rialto*, op.cit., 12-16; 24-28; F.Corner, *Venetae Ecclesiae*, op.cit., III, 109-111.

17. Ibid., 31-32; see also G.Mazzi, 'Note per una definizione della funzione viaria di Venezia', *AV*, ser.V, XCIX, (1973), 26.

the Fondaco della Farina (the Flour Warehouse) beyond Rio San Silvestro.¹⁸ The vast marshy pools that blocked growth were gradually reclaimed, and the last vestiges of the *piscinae* of San Matteo and Poncianica were drained (1255-6).

From surviving evidence, it appears that the ancient parish nuclei of San Polo, San Tom  and Sant'Aponal also expanded in the twelfth century. (as shown on the map by Saverio Muratori reproduced overleaf).¹⁹ In San Polo, for example, the zone between the square and Rio San Polo became densely built up. From the late twelfth and throughout the thirteenth century the banks of Rii della Madonnetta, Rampani, dei Meloni and Sant'Aponal were fully urbanised, with a further cluster of housing between Rio dei Meloni and Ponte Storto.²⁰ But the best examples of early development can be identified in the area lying between the churches of San Silvestro, Sant'Aponal and Rio dei Meloni and above all along the Grand Canal from San Silvestro to Rio della Madonnetta. The Veneto-Byzantine palaces, Ca'Barzizza, Ca' del Papa, Ca'Businello, Ca'Don , and Ca'Don  alla

18. When, in 1228 the fondaco del Comune was auctioned to the Germans, documents speak of the "*fonticum communis novum, in domo Joahnni Michael*", although the Cronaca Savina under the year 1178 records "*in questo tempo questo dose (Orio Mastropiero) fese far el fontego della farina a Rialto*". R.Predelli, *Il Liber Communis detto anche Plegiorum del R.Archivio Generale di Venezia*, Regesti, Venezia, (1872), 698.

19. *Sistema dei Quartieri dell'Ansa Settentrionale del Canal Grande* in S.Muratori, 'Studi per un operante storia urbana di Venezia', in *Palladio, Rivista di Storia dell' Architettura*, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, n.s. IX, (January-June 1959), between 170-71. However, some of these "reconstructions" must be treated very cautiously.

20. The waterfront along Rio Sant'Aponal (the Carampane) was affected to a lesser degree. Buildings firmly dated from c.1230 to 1300 include a surviving building in Calle Cavalli (now San Polo) and also Ca'Diedo in Campo Sant'Aponal; E.R.Trincanato, *U.Franzoi, Venise au fils du temps*, op.cit., Tav. VII/b, *L'h g monie m diterran enne/  difices priv s 1229-1311*;

Rio Sant'Agostin

Rio S. Antonio

Rio dei Frari

Rio dei Nomboli

Rio della Parucchetta

Rio San Stin

Rio delle Carampane

Rio del Fontego

Rio dei Meloni

Rio dell'Olio

Rio della Scoazzera

Rio San Silvestro

Overlay showing present-day canals with dotted lines indicating canals existing in the Quattrocento

Rio Sant'Agostin
 Rio S. Antonio
 Rio dei Frari
 Rio dei Nomboli
 Rio della Parucchetto
 Rio San Stin

Rio delle Carampane
 Rio del Fontego
 Rio dei Meloni
 Rio dell'Olio
 Rio della Scoazzera
 Rio San Silvestro

Overlay showing present-day canals with dotted lines indicating canals existing in the Quattrocento

Madonnetta, still maintain, at least in part, their authentic appearance.

Yet a large enclave bounded by *Rio delle Beccarie*, *Rio San Silvestro* and *Calle del Paradiso/Calle della Donzella* remained undeveloped. The same holds for large tracts of the parishes of Sant'Agostin, San Stin and San Giovanni Evangelista; the zone between San Polo and San Tom ; between San Boldo and San Polo; and between Rio S. Antonio which encircled *Campo San Polo* and *Rio della Madonetta*.

In 1197 a lake covered the area between San Giacomo dell Orio, San Stin and San Pantalon, the *lacus Badovariorum*.²¹ When the Franciscans settled here in the early 1230's, they were granted a piece of land nearby, apparently subject to flooding from one arm of that lake, which evidently was being gradually reclaimed and splitting into canals, marshland and *piscinae*.²² The surrounding area was gradually reclaimed: the first church was begun in 1250. Only a pool is visible in the plan copied in the 1321 manuscript of Fra Paolino between the Frari and San Pantalon.²³ Completed only around 1330, it was oriented differently to the present basilica: its altar stood facing the *rio*, on the site of the main portal. Thus from the end of the thirteenth century,

21. The Badoer family are nevertheless documented as owning property in San Stin from 1038.

22. The development of this area in the *Duecento* is described in exhaustive detail in the documents published in *Archivio sartori, Documenti di Storia e Arte Franciscana*. Tomo 11/2, Frati Minori Conventuali Editori, Basilica del Santo, Padova, (1986), 1742-1768; see also the well-documented account in R. Goffen, *Piety and Patronage*, op.cit., 2-6; N. Spada, 'Le origini del convento di Frari', *Le Venezie Francescane*, I, (1932), 163-71.

23. See W. Dorigo, *Venezia origini*, op.cit., vol II, n.174, 442; M. Pozza, *I Badoer. Una famiglia veneziana dal X al XIII secolo*, Francisci Editore, Abano Terme, (1982), passim.

with intense suspicion. It was logical that these nobles policed the quarter in which they resided, backed up by local patrolmen (*custodi*). However, it should also be recognised that both magistracies had extensive jurisdictions: the former over slaves, swearing and gambling; the latter heard cases involving servants, pimps, prostitutes and those who lodged in inns, at Rialto in premises "above the meat-market".²⁶

However, the *sestiere* served as an all-purpose administrative unit. If it was the basis of major schemes such as the property valuation of 1459, or the *decime* after 1463, it seemed equally appropriate that during the plague of 1456, one barber would be chosen per *sestiere* to bleed victims, or that during September 1471 all property sales should be noted in a "parchment book divided into six *sexterii*". Even prison guards, paid a measly 15 *lire* a month (when 13 *lire* could buy two small chickens) were recruited in equal proportions from *sestieri*.²⁷

In the *Great Chronology from the Beginning of the World to the year 1346*, there appears a copy of a plan of Venice made for Doge Ordelaaffo Falier (1102-1118); the city already appears as "a compact weft" of islands and parishes; the map was rediscovered by the architect Tommaso Temanza, who

26. On these magistracies, G. Ruggiero, *Violence in Early Renaissance Venice*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, (1980), chapter 1, *passim*; F. Nani Mocenigo, *Capitolare dei Signore di Notte esistente nel civico museo di Venezia*, Venezia, (1877), doc. 96, 75, (23.6.1299); M. Sanudo *De origine, situ e magistratibus urbis*, ed. Aricò, *op.cit.*, 129-30, 142. It is not possible from the above sources to reconstruct their itineraries, if stable itineraries were indeed followed.

27. MC, Regina, c.102r, 28.9.1471; G. Scarabello, *Carcerati e Carceri*, *op.cit.*, 101.

the western part of the *sestiere* had acquired a whole new focus.

1.2. DEFINITIONS: AN INTRODUCTION

To put it bluntly, throughout the *Quattrocento* this *sestiere* was generally little more than a formal administrative division, similar to the division of the city in two halves around the natural barrier of the Grand Canal (*de citra* and *de ultra*).²⁴ There were no *sestiere* meetings or councils. *Sestieri* played no essential political role whilst their part in the distribution of offices was limited: only ducal councillors, the Heads of the *Sestieri* (*Cai di Sestier*) and the Lords of the Night (*Signori di Notte*) were elected by *sestiere*.

Signori di Notte were fundamentally night-watchmen: the "officers with torches" of *Othello*, who went on patrol four nights a week, "in search of weapons and robbers if there are any to be found", clapping offenders in the local lock-up (*casón*).²⁵ On the other nights, the Heads of the *Sestieri* patrolled in boats and on foot, but they had no rights of forcible entry (*non poleno far buttar zoso niuna porta*). Obviously these men needed to be thoroughly familiar with the area, and to be able to watch out for strangers, viewed

24. Venice was split into two halves for administrative purposes by the Procurators of San Marco in 1319. Interestingly those estates entrusted to the Procurators before 1319 from the *sestiere* of Cannaregio were assigned to the *de ultra* division, in an effort to balance workload, probably deriving from demographic imbalances: R. Mueller, *The Procurators of San Marco. A Study of Venetian Credit and Banking in the Trecento*. Ph.D. thesis, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, (1969), Ann-Arbor Microfilms, (1977), 9.

25. From 25.9.1378, the Heads of the *Sestieri* had to check these lock-ups daily, G. Scarabello, *Carcerati e Carceri a Venezia nell'Età Moderna*, Biblioteca Biographica 21, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma, (1979), 16.

with intense suspicion. It was logical that these nobles policed the quarter in which they resided, backed up by local patrolmen (*custodi*). However, it should also be recognised that both magistracies had extensive jurisdictions: the former over slaves, swearing and gambling; the latter heard cases involving servants, pimps, prostitutes and those who lodged in inns, at Rialto in premises "above the meat-market".²⁶

However, the *sestiere* served as an all-purpose administrative unit. If it was the basis of major schemes such as the property valuation of 1459, or the *decime* after 1463, it seemed equally appropriate that during the plague of 1456, one barber would be chosen per *sestiere* to bleed victims, or that during September 1471 all property sales should be noted in a "parchment book divided into six *sexterii*". Even prison guards, paid a measly 15 *lire* a month (when 13 *lire* could buy two small chickens) were recruited in equal proportions from *sestieri*.²⁷

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26. On these magistracies, G. Ruggiero, *Violence in Early Renaissance Venice*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, (1980), chapter 1, *passim*; F. Nani Mocenigo, *Capitolare dei Signore di Notte esistente nel civico museo di Venezia*, Venezia, (1877), doc. 96, 75, (23.6.1299); M. Sanudo *De origine, situ e magistratibus urbis*, ed. Aricò, *op.cit.*, 129-30, 142. It is not possible from the above sources to reconstruct their itineraries, if stable itineraries were indeed followed.

27. MC, Regina, c.102r, 28.9.1471; G. Scarabello, *Carcerati e Carceri*, *op.cit.*, 101.

De Amalech. Amalech spurius herodis oculis filius dicitur iherosolymitanus. Iohannes si herodis dicitur primo lignum filium. Iohannes paravignam postea in exple abi-
melech in obsidione rebas fragmice mole erecebat est. **De Gola.** Gola nil egit.
De septe. septe spurius exple herodis pira dur belli uocatur i phylistim am-
uocatur p' p' ocauere d' amo sua oferte dno q' opulit filia. **De efray.** a' ocauere galaadite
vltis timentis i septe q' cor n' uocasti ad bellu. **De aselan.** aselan p'ca uocatur
p' que aselo v. a. q' i l'v n' p'oni. p'cau' d'igno supleto eusebi' **Samuel.** e' ip' septe n' exp-
moe ples and q' i iosepho legat' uocatur ut accipere a n'ie oplet' ab eadu d' egypto us-
ad rep'li edificat' hoc sequor ne ab alior studio uidar delinere q' n' i ne si soli i rui ad
elare linea d'ia sic. **De abdo.** abdo p'ca uocatur i' m' duob' i rui n' recessit i' rui a dno
i' q' q' f'uit elare f'ca i' b'iam. **De alone.** alone n'ie uocatur i' monee
n'ie uocatur f'uit lege. **De uocatur d'ia i' r'p'ata.** p'antola v'v' f'atilib' uocatur f'ante so-
luta obustat legent' hostiu hostiu e' f'atilib' cauid' cor uulpiu aligan' p'atilib' f'ate i' mo-
re platis dolo d'itate p'alis e'ub' exculat' d' d'icatur d' uenalete f'ate e' e'ub' p'les
f'atit' moient' q' f'atit' i' uita. **De hely.** hely ip' anna f'atit' ordine i'p'atit' filiu.

Samuele q' ablatum opulit i' r'p'le e' p'ca hely e'ub' filio ad m-
p'enti n'ie uocatur d'icatur. **De uocatur d'ia i' r'p'ata.** p'antola v'v' f'atilib' uocatur f'ante so-
luta obustat legent' hostiu hostiu e' f'atilib' cauid' cor uulpiu aligan' p'atilib' f'ate i' mo-
re platis dolo d'itate p'alis e'ub' exculat' d' d'icatur d' uenalete f'ate e' e'ub' p'les
f'atit' moient' q' f'atit' i' uita. **De hely.** hely ip' anna f'atit' ordine i'p'atit' filiu.



Plan of Venice from the Chronologia Magna, Biblioteca Marciana, Venezia, Mss. Lat.Z. 2399 (=1610)

devoted an entire book to it, published in 1781.²⁸ Discussing San Polo, he referred in passing, "this *sestiere* and that adjoining it, Santa Croce, are so united that there is no boundary which really divides them".²⁹

Knowing where the *sestiere* began and ended in the later fifteenth century was therefore a pressing concern of initial researches. By reducing and switching the scale of analysis to focus on *sestieri* and parish boundaries, I will argue that San Polo should be thought of as an agglomeration of parishes. Those boundaries were a matter of daily importance, yet they were often indistinct and unwritten. Boundaries were altered when areas which were not firmly assigned to one parish or another were built upon; the best evidence about these changes comes from inter-parochial disputes, which document a way of defining boundaries that privileged the memories of men of age and experience, rather than laws, drawings or measurements. But before evaluating these themes in detail, it first seems appropriate to examine the origins of the *sestieri*.

1.3 ORIGINS.

During the last decades of the eleventh century, as population rose sharply and as settlement became denser, Venice began to be split into seventy *confinia*, modelled on

28. The *Chronologia magna ab origine mundi ad annum millesimum tergentesimum quadragesimum sextum*. (BNM, ms, lat. Z.399 (=1610), f.7r. The twelfth century map was partly updated by the copyist. L.Benevolo, *The European City*, trs. by C.Ipsen, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, (1993), 25. (Simultaneously published by Laterza, Roma and Bari); J.Schulz, 'Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice', art.cit., 445;
29. T.Temanza, *Antica Pianta dell'Inclita Città di Venezia, delineata circa la metà del XII secolo ed ora per la prima pubblicata, ed illustrata*. Dissertazione Topografico-Storico-Critico di Tommaso Temanza Architteto e Ingegnere, Stamperia C.Palese, Venezia, (1781), 80.

parishes.³⁰ Formerly, places had been identified by their proximity to canals and mounds or described as being on the fringes of a distinct region.³¹ But these archaic terms were not immediately superseded; in fact, they disappeared so slowly that even by 1155, when the parish of San Matteo de Rialto was founded, the area was designated in precisely the traditional way: "at the extremity of Rialto", "close to" the canal known as Rio Magadesso, now Rio delle Beccarie.³² Other archaic toponyms were impervious. These terms -such as *Dorsoduro*, *Cannaregio*, *Castello*, *Luprio* and *Gemino*- were references to distinct regions which appeared to have been colonized by various waves of migration. As Lanfranchi and Zille wrote, they symbolically recalled, "almost with resentment", the physiognomy of those regions.³³ The first three terms were used to designate *sestieri*, which suggests

30 For the 1083-4 *confinia*, see R.Cessi, *Venezia Ducale, II, Commune Venetiarum*, Venezia, (1965), 131; W.Dorigo, *Venezia Origini. Fondamenti, ipotesi, metodi*, Electa, Milano, (1983), Vol.II, n.186, 450. At the time of this decision, parishes were probably "autonomous and well-defined nuclei separated from one another by some distance": M. Rosada, *Santa Maria Formosa. Ponti per la storia di Venezia. Sezione II Archivi ecclesiastici. Diocesi castellana*, Venezia, (1972), XVIII and notes. For a superb study of parishes around St.Mark's between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, see M.Agazzi, *Platea Sancti Marci, I luoghi marciani dal XI al XIII secolo e la formazione della piazza. Commune di Venezia*, Venezia, (1991), 23-75 ('La situazione urbanistica della zona circostante la Piazza tra XI e XIII secolo'), 23-75.

31. Terms used included "de capite", "de rivo", and "de tumba" -"at the extremity of", "of/from the canal/mound".

32. In the 14th century, this canal was known as *Rio di Ca'Bellegno*: D.Calabi, P.Morachiello, *Rialto*, op.cit., 8. For the foundation document of San Matteo: F.Corner (Cornelio), *Ecclesiae venetae antiquis monumentis nunc etiam primum editis illustratae ac in Decades distributae*, Tip. J.B.Pasquali, Venetiis, (1749), III, (Decas Quarta), 257.

27. L.Lanfranchi, G.G.Zille, 'Il territorio del ducato veneziano dal'VIII al XII secolo', in *Storia di Venezia, II, Dalle origini del ducato al IV Crociata*, ed.R.Cessi, Venezia, (1958), 53; See also D.Olivieri, *Toponomastica Veneta*, Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale. Civiltà Veneziana. Dizionari Dialecti II, 2nd ed., Fondazione Cini, Venezia, (1961). For the term "Luprio": G.B.Pellegrini, 'Venezia, la laguna e il litorale nell'interpretazione toponomastica', in *La "Venetia" Dall'Antichità all'Alto Medioevo*, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani, Roma, (1989) 38, n.72; D.Olivieri, 'Il nome Luprio ed altri toponimi affini', *NAV*, n.s. XXXV-XXXVI (1917), 188-92; For "Gemino", F.Gaeta, *San Lorenzo. Ponti per la Storia de Venezia. Sezione II. Archivi ecclesiastici-Diocesi castellana*, Venezia, (1959), XVIII.

the original division followed the outlines of clearly separate districts.

According to reliable tradition, the *sestieri* were created under Doge Vital Michiel II for the purpose of imposing forced loans (*imprestiti*) in the conflict against the Byzantine Emperor, Manuel Comnenus (1171). We can only speculate about the original form of *sestieri*, as so little evidence survives. The only reliable piece of evidence known to me, the anonymous *Chronicon Altinate*, merely states that each *sestiere* was split up into "small parishes".³⁴

Yet from the very beginning, it is clear that *sestieri* were fundamentally administrative districts and they were swiftly adopted as the territorial basis for the election of the emergent Great Council, ducal councillors and the Procurators of St. Mark's. They supplemented electoral districts known as *trentacie*, into which the *contrade* appear to have been organised.³⁵ By 1209, Venice had even produced carbon copies, when her wards served to divide Crete.³⁶

34. H.Simonsfeld, *Venetianische Studien*, I, *Das Chronicon Altinate*, Munich, (1878), quoted in G.Luzzato (ed.), *I Prestiti della repubblica di Venezia, Secoli XIII-XV*, Reale Accademia dei Lincei, *Documenti Finanziari della Repubblica di Venezia*, ser.III, Vol.I, Part I, A.Dragi, Padova, (1929), XI. See also R.Cessi, *Origo civitatum Italiae seu Venetiarum (Chronicon Altinate e Chronicon Gradense)*, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, Istituto Storico Italiano, Roma, (1933).

35. R.Cessi (ed.), *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, I, Bologna, (1950), 263, doc.A, April 1207; see also M.da Canale, *Cronaca Veneta*, ed. F.L.Polidori and G.Galviani, in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, VIII, (1845), 566-67: "*departies les contrées de Venise en XXX parties c'est ii contrées a une feste*"; the most recent and thorough accounts are in G.Rösch, *Der venezianische Adel bis zur Schliessung des Grossen Rats. Zur Genese einer Führungssicht*, Sigamaringen, (1986) (not seen).

36. This division of Crete was abandoned at the dawn of the fourteenth century, see F.Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen âge, Le développement e l'exploitation du domain colonial vénitien*, *Bibliothèques des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 193, E.de Boccard, Paris, (1959), 125 and *ibid*, n.3.

Fourteenth-century sources consistently refer to *sestieri* as simple aggregates of parishes.³⁷ The *estimo* of 1379 was "*notadi per sestier, et per contrada*".³⁸ When the city's property was valued in 1367, the estimated sums of the parishes were added to provide *sestiere* totals. The *quattrocento* was no different.

Thus Sanudo included a list of seventy "*contrade over parocchie partide per sextier*" alongside his accounts of Venice's magistracies and his description of the city.³⁹ Likewise, when the Council of Ten, in their campaign against the "abominable and detestable vice" of sodomy elected two nobles in each *contrada* in May 1455, they grouped those parishes by *sestiere*. The payment schemes dictated by the Senate for the urgently needed dredging of the fetid Grand Canal imposed levies at both the level of the parish and the *sestiere* as a whole (1462): from "*el corpo de la contrada*" (the body of the parish) and "*a corpo de tuto el sextier*".⁴⁰

37. For the first, see *ibid.*, 138-195. For the 1367 valuation, see S.Romanin, *Storia documentata della repubblica di Venezia*, Tip.P.Naratovich, Venezia, (10 vols., 1853-61), III, (1855), 279. For the 1328 appointment of two *capi-contrada* (parish officials) under the Heads of the *Sestiere*: F.Zago, *Consiglio dei Dieci, Deliberazioni Miste, Registri I-II*, (1310-1325), 2 vols., Fonti per la storia de Venezia, vol I, Il Comitato Editore, Venezia, (1962), 107; E.C.Pavan, *Sopra le acque salse*, I, *op.cit.*, 273.

38. For a brief account of this famous survey made during the War of Chioggia to assess government loans: G.Luzzatto, *Storia economica di Venezia dal XI al XVI secolo*, Centro internazionale delle arti e del costume, Tip.C.Ferrari, Venezia, (1961), 129-33.

39 M.Sanudo, *De origine, situ e magistratibus urbis*, ed. A.Aricò, *op.cit.*, 167-9. The same number of parishes is repeated in his *Laus urbis venetae* and similarly in the *Estimo* of 1379.

40. Senato, Terra, 5, f.3v. Reported in *Antichi scrittori d'idraulica veneta*, vol. I, ed. G.Pavanello, Venezia, (1919), 155. Also 23.4 1447: Senato, Terra, 1, f.127v. The equivalence of parishes and *sestiere* was reflected in the levying of a militia, the "*provisionadi de S.Marco*", (14.11.1477) reported in D.Malipiero, *Annali veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500*, ed. T.Gar and A.Sagredo, ASI, ser.1, VII (1843), 116. One noble per *sestiere* deputed nobles in each *contrada* to recruit all those "suitable to bear arms". On the latter decision, see M.Mallett, J.Hale. *The Military Organisation of a Renaissance State: Venice, c.1400 to 1617*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York, (1984), 78.

As Sanudo's description makes quite clear, San Polo was therefore a cluster of adjacent parishes.

Other *sestieri* were far more irregular. Santa Croce spanned the Grand Canal, engulfing part of the parish of Santa Lucia. However, throughout the fourteenth century, its inclusion was uncertain: a property valuation undertaken in 1367 placed S.Lucia "*in Cannaregio*". The confusion continued into the *Quattrocento*. In 1436, the *contrada*'s property holders were exempted from an impost for the construction of a wooden bridge, for which the *contrade* of San Cassiano, San Stai and Santa Maria Mater Domini were to pay two-thirds and the remainder of Santa Croce one-third, as the parish was "*extra canale*".⁴¹

Other areas were symbolically integrated within *sestieri*. Murano, in the lagoon, renowned ever since the close of the thirteenth century for its glassware, was included in Santa Croce by Sanudo. Yet this populous island was governed separately by a *podestà* from 1295 and had its own statutes and Great Council.⁴² Those magistracies in Venice that dealt

41. Other instances of this confusion occurred in 1315 when the Great Council removed the parish of Santa Lucia from the jurisdiction of the *Signori di Notte* of Santa Croce and assigned patrols to those of Cannaregio: D.Romano, *Patricians and Popolani, The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, (1987), n.26, 163, also copied into *Compilazione Leggi.b.357 (Capi-sestiere)* c.24. Moreover the widening of a street at San Giovanni Crisostomo in 1330 was charged to the *sestiere* of Cannaregio whilst the *contrada* of S.Lucia, referred to separately, was to pay a *soldo de grosso*: B.Cecchetti, 'La Vita dei Veneziani nel Trecento', AV, (1885), Tomo XXIX, 39. The census mentioned in the preceding note, ordering those *contrade* most exposed to the enemy to defend the city designated the *contrade* of 'S.Nicolò, S.Croce, S.Lucia, Cannaregio, S.Biagio e la Giudecca'. However the *Estimo* of 1379 placed S.Lucia under S.Croce: G.Luzzato (ed.), *I Prestiti*, op.cit., 188.

42. Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan has described Murano as a "extension" of the *sestiere* without administratively belonging to it. See her 'Murano à la fin du Moyen Age, Spécificité ou intégration dans l'espace vénétien?', *Revue historique*, CCLXVIII, (1982), 53. For the steward of the glassmakers and the estimates for the dredging of canals see *ibid.*, 66 and n.99.

with *sestiere* matters had no powers of intervention. Thus, the responsibility for the dredging of canals was assumed by the *podestà*, sometimes with the collaboration of the *gastaldo* (steward) of the glassmakers' guild. The ambiguity surrounding Murano's role in the district is underscored by a Senate proposal. Problems arose in August 1447 over the election of the ducal councillor of Santa Croce. By law, only one councillor could be elected ^{for} in each *sestiere* and as a plague epidemic wreaked havoc in the city, many patricians sought refuge on Murano. Several subsequently claimed that their property there was their normal residence, thus qualifying them to put forward their candidature. The senators were unimpressed and laid down that these properties were to be treated as "accidental" and "extraordinary".⁴³ Similarly, the Giudecca, the spine-shaped island covered with extensive suburban villas, though separated by half a mile from Dorsoduro was placed under that *sestiere*.

But the strangest and most surprising piece of evidence concerns the rural commune of Cologna in the Veronese. Anticipating the outcome of the Carrarese war in 1405, it appealed to Venice and was annexed to the *sestiere* of Dorsoduro; presumably as a gesture that the commune was directly subject to Venice.⁴⁴

43. Senato, Terra, 1, f.65r. However Collegio, Notatorio, 14, f.62v (13.6.1492), describes Murano as "*in corpore civitatis et in sexterio Santa Crucis*".

44 G.Cozzi, M.Knapton, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia: Dalla guerra di Chioggia al 1517*, Utet Libreria, Torino, (1986), 209. (Separately published paperback edition of *La Repubblica di Venezia nell'età moderna. Dalla guerra di Chioggia al 1517*, Torino, (1986), *Storia d'Italia*, directed by

1.4. SESTIERE AND PARISH BOUNDARIES.

Every Wednesday and Saturday, streetcleaners toured San Polo in barges, sounding their horns, and shovelling sludge (*fango*) and rubbish (*scovazze*) into their carts.⁴⁵ Andrea de Bergamo, and his colleague Stefano de Stefano, were confirmed as contractors for Santa Croce in 1468, having "diligently" carried out this unpleasant task for the past five years ("*cum duobus barchis e duobus famulis*").⁴⁶ However, the boundaries of their round were left open: the *sestiere* is constantly mentioned but its limits remain blurred. The sources only contain a few disconnected scraps of fact. Buried within the records of the Collegio, the Senate's steering committee, is a proposal calling for the dredging of Rio San Tom  by Marco Foscolo, ducal councillor for the *sestiere*, a canal "*quod segregat et dividit sexterii Sancti Pauli et sexterio Dorsoduro*"⁴⁷. A 1321 decree for the dredging of the city's canals which listed those *rii* by *sestiere*, provides the most concrete evidence of the contours of the *sestiere*.⁴⁸

G.Galasso, XII/I.) See also J.Law. 'Super differentiis agitatibus Venetiis inter districtuales et civitatem; Venezia, Verona e il contado nel '400', AV, ser.V, CI, (1981), 6.

26. 23.4.1443, Senato, Terra, I, f.127v-128r; Also *Antichi scrittori*, ed.G.Pavanello, op.cit., 155-56, from Senato, Terra, 5, 2v-3r; *Compilazione Leggi*, ser.I, *Strade pubbliche*, b.357, 12.3.1483; Notatorio alla Sanit , b.725, c.49r, 51r.(1498/99).

46. Collegio, Notatorio, 11, f.22v, (27.4.1468).

47. Collegio, Notatorio, 14, f.59v, (15.5.92); See also Collegio, Notatorio, 12, (27.1.1477 mv=1478), for the dredging of Rio S.Pantalon "*inter contrada S.Pantalon e S.Thom *" up to the Grand Canal; Sabellico's *De situ urbis Venetae libri tres* identifies Ponte delle Beccarie as marking the division between Santa Croce and San Polo: "*Ex piscario prater macellum ad lapideum pontem qui foro lignario incubat, regionis confinium itur, ultra nihil ad Paulinam attinet regionem*", op.cit., 258

48. B.Cecchetti, AV, XXIX, (1885),44-48. (An appendix of documents to his long article 'La Vita dei Veneziani nel 1300', art.cit., 47).

"The San Silvestro and Sant'Aponal canal, which flows into the Grand Canal (the Rialto Canal) between the Flour Warehouse and the palace of the Patriarch; the other rio along which is the Corner house; the narrow canal at San Polo, between the Mazaman house and the Foscarini house and which flows into Rio dei Frari, between the houses of the Mezzo and Badoer and into Rio San Polo, between the houses of the Tiepolo and Foscarini; Rio San Tom  which flows into the Grand Canal by the Querini property and into the lake at San Pantalon; Rio Sant'Agostin, which skirts the campo and the Zotto house and flows into Rio dei Saoneri, between the L'Anzollo house and the houses built by the Procurators of San Marco and feeds into Rio San Giacomo (dell'Orio), between the houses of the Fano and Fabbro; the Rio at San Polo which skirts the square which flows into the Grand Canal, by the Emo house and that of Orio de Bernardo and into Rio Sant'Agostin is to stay just as it is".⁴⁹

All of these glimpses form part of an inescapable image: it was a matter of common knowledge that the above canals bounded the *sestiere*; if these limits appear shadowy, it was because they were taken for granted. The same cannot be said

49. "Rivo maestro di San Silvestro e Sant'Aponal, un capo nel canal di Rialto fra il fontico di frumento ed il patriarcato, altro rivo di Ca Corner; il rivo a San Polo, fra Ca' Mazaman and Ca' Fuscar (Foscarini?) e altro nel rivo di frati minori, fra ca' Mezo et ca'Badoer, l'altro in rivo maestro di San Polo, fra Ca' Tiepolo et Ca' Foscarini- il rivo a San Tom  ha capo in Canal Grande fra possession di Ca' Querini l'altro in lago di San Pantaleone; il rivo di Sant'Agostin, che va presso il campo et presso la casa de Ca' Zotto, ha capo in rivo Savonerio, fra Ca' L'Anzollo et le case dei procuratori, et altro in rivo di San Giacomo dell'Orio, fra Ca'da Fano et Ca' Favro. Il rivo a San Polo che scorre presso il campo; capo in canale di Rialto, fra Ca' Emo et per Orio di Bernardo, et l'altro nel rivo de S'Agostino, resti qual  ."

of parishes, variously referred to in the fifteenth century as "*parocchie*", "*contrade*" and "*confinia*".⁵⁰

Considerable blurring at the edges of *contrade* can be identified in San Polo and many examples of uncertainty as to whether property was in one parish or another emerge from the sources.⁵¹ San Polo was by no means unique: Sanudo described a palace as "in the *contrada* of San Barnaba", whereas in the *Redecima* it was placed in San Trovaso: Ca'Barbarigo was in the area called "*della Toletta*", much closer to Campo San Barnaba than Campo San Trovaso.⁵²

But for parish priests, these boundaries were a vital jurisdictional matter. By this period, parish disputes were sparked off less by inter-parochial conflict than by external pressures.⁵³ Parish chapters reacted against the privileges the mendicant orders had obtained through papal concession and asserted their rights against the pretensions of the Patriarch. In 1455, for example, the chapter of

50. Senato, Terra, 4, f.185v, (16.10.1461); See also the protocols of Antonio de Grassellis, CI, b.99, n.37, f.11v, (10.5.1474); n.182, f.35v, (19.5.1483); n.182, f.47r, (14.11.1485). However the term *le contrade* was applied to those islands under the jurisdiction of the podestà of Torcello-Burano, Malamocco, Ammiana and Costanziana: D.Malipiero, *Annali veneti dal 1457 al 1500*, op.cit., I, 253, 321 (1482 and 1494). Ammiana and Costanziana have long since slipped under the waters of the lagoon.

51. A shop (*bottega*) owned by Andrea Zane fu Polo was reported as "*nel confin de San Silvestro over S.Aponal*", QM, 78, (19.4.1501); Lio de Uxmanini qd Marcello possessed three adjacent warehouses "in S.Polo and S.Aponal", QM, 31, 14.4.1456; Vincenzo de Garzoni declared in 1514 a "*chaxa con bottega in S.Aponal over S.Silvestro*", DS, 1514, S.Aponal, b.17, 31, 32. When Francesco Longo fo Francesco declared his property in S.Silvestro, the *Redecima* officials added "*e S.Aponal*": DS, 1514, S.Polo, b.59, 22.

52. Sanudo, *Diarii*, XXI, 124, 130; DS, 1514, San Trovaso, return of Andrea Barbarigo fu Francesco: information from G.Padoan, '*La "Venetiana": Non fabula non comedia ma vera historia*', in *Momenti del Rinascimento Veneto*, Medioevo e Umanesimo 31, Editrice Antenore, Padova, (1978), 310.

53. Conflicts over parish limits and baptismal rights in the *sestiere* of San Polo can be traced back to 1191, 1197 and 1251: D.Rando, '*Aspetti dell'organizzazione della cure d'anime a Venezia nei secoli XI-XII*', in *La Chiesa di Venezia nei secoli XI-XIII. Contributi alla Storia della Chiesa Veneziana* II, Edizioni Studium Cattolico Veneziana, (1989), n.9, 56 and n.6, 67.

S.Aponal vigorously defended its authority to bury Florio de Ragusa; they lost in the patriarchal court, but appealed to the Pope.⁵⁴ Evidence of concerted action by the secular clergy is also apparent when the nine congregations of the clergy petitioned the patriarch, Maffeo Girardi, to protest at the Curia against Sixtus IV's bull *Mare Magnum* (1475), which strengthened the privileges of the friars.⁵⁵ However, as we can catch only tantalizing glimpses of mortality rates, parish revenues and funeral expenses, we are prevented from measuring the relative importance of these rights during the period.

Boundary disputes frequently seem to have been instigated by the need to restore equilibrium, ruptured by the implications of building development in areas not firmly tied to one parish or another. Parochial records provide a unique insight into the definition of those boundaries. They also offer glimpses of tacit attitudes which determined that changes had to respond to an engrained need for continuity; innovation had to be inserted almost silently into the existing urban fabric, considered almost "an inheritance to be bequeathed with the minimum of alteration".⁵⁶

54. At stake was the "*jus funerandi, seu sepeliendi advenas et peregrinos*": G.Gallicciolli, *Delle memorie venete antiche* op.cit., Book II, Ch.X, ns. 626/627, 348 (15.10.1455). For another case involving an appeal by the chapter of San Silvestro to the papacy see Collegio, Notatorio, 9, f.153r, (5.3.1459).

55. Girardi responded by issuing a decree, demanding observance of the "ancient customs" regarding funerals and the administration of the sacraments, "notwithstanding the privileges of the Mendicant orders": F.Corner, *Ecclesiae venetae*, op.cit., XIII, 275. The importance of burial rights in the economy of parish priests emerges from evidence of harassment of testamentary executors and fiduciaries over funerals and burials, provoking protests and "numerous scandals" (which Andrea Bondumier, Patriarch in 1464, sought to eradicate).

56. M.Tafari, *Ricerca nel Rinascimento. Principi, città, architetti*, Einaudi, Torino, (1992), 119.

1.4. THE EVIDENCE OF PARISH DISPUTES.

A dispute between the parishes of San Silvestro and San Giovanni (1545) copied into a dusty file kept in the archive (or cupboard) of the church of San Silvestro throws much light on the meaning of parish boundaries and how they were defined in this *sestiere* in the late *quattrocento*.⁵⁷

The controversy was a consequence of the redevelopment of an area badly scarred in the Rialto fire of 1514.⁵⁸ The main contention was over rights to administer the sacraments and bury the dead in two *calle* (alleys) and the *riva* (embankment) along the Grand Canal: the *Calle dei Barileri* (the street immediately after the Fontego della Farina), the *Calle del Sturion* (a parallel, which also runs up to Ruga Vecchia) and the *Riva del Ferro*.⁵⁹ The shop-sign of the Sturgeon inn (*l'Osteria del Sturion*) is clearly visible in Carpaccio's famous depiction of Rialto, the "Miraculous Healing of a Possessed Man" (see the illustrations on the following pages).

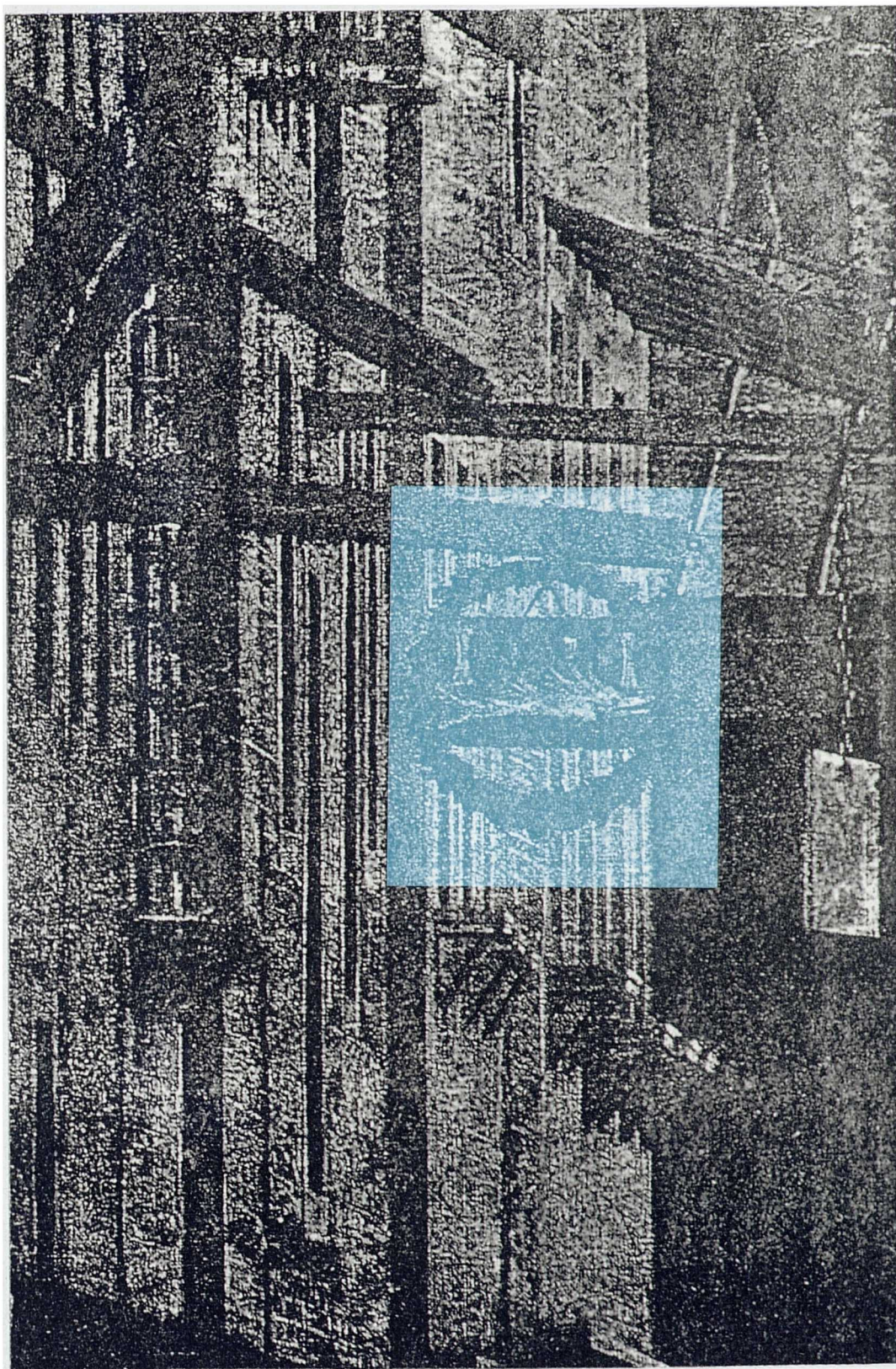
57. APSS, *Catastico a stampa con notizie varie sull'origine, prerogative e altre di San Giovanni di Rialto, testimonianze al processo contro San Silvestro*. This folder is briefly mentioned in D.Calabi, P.Morachiello, *Rialto*, op.cit., 59, 66.

58. A purpose built block, unusually designed to have ground and first floors of equal heights, stretching along Calle del Sturion dates to this period: P.Maretto, *La casa veneziana nella storia della città, dalle origini al Ottocento*, Marsilio Editori, Venezia, (1986), 410-411. In the dispute, the patrician Zuan qd Andrea Sanudo testified that "le case per abitazion, che sono stá fabbricate za un anno over do in quella calle del Sturion, perche per avanti l'incendio de Rialto non ghe erano se non magazeni e volte ecetto la casa del Lipomano", 13.10.1545, f.44r. Alvise, a master carpenter corroborates his deposition "Adesso da doi anni in qua per S.Marco si fabbricano delle case in quella calle del Sturion, ma avanti el fuoco de Rialto erano magazeni, e volte, et non ghe erano case se non al canton verso calle di Oresi, ghe era una casa con una volta, ma non me ricordo di chi", f.44v.

59. Not to be confused with the current Riva del Ferro, which is on the other side of the canal. The embankment corresponds to the present-day *Fondamenta del Vin*: D.Calabi, 'Canali, rive, approdi', in A.Tenenti e U.Tucci, *Storia di Venezia*, XII, *Il Mare*, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana fondata da A.Treccani, Roma, (1991), 777-783.



Carpaccio, *Healing of the Possessed Man*,
(Accademia, Venezia)



Shop sign of the Sturgeon Inn: enlarged detail from
V. Carpaccio, *Healing of the Possessed Man*.

How can we explain the emphasis on these streets? Eleventh and twelfth century sources suggest that both parishes were originally encircled by canals and marshes. When the Gradenigo family divided up their property here in 1051, a *Rio San Giovanni* is mentioned, probably the original boundary of that parish. This canal disappears in the second decade of the thirteenth century (with the building of the new Flour Warehouse, the *Fondaco della Farina*) and seems to have followed the course of the street adjacent to *Calle del Sturion*, the *Calle della Donzella*.⁶⁰ At the beginning of the eleventh century, a pond (*piscina*) lay between the two *rii* of San Giovanni and San Silvestro.⁶¹ *Rio San Silvestro* was probably dug in order to drain the remainder of the *piscina* and would help to explain why the parish of San Silvestro extended beyond that canal. (Rio San Silvestro was filled in between 1844-6). Descriptions of the *contrada* in 1661 and 1740 thus both indicated Calle del Sturion as the boundary line.⁶²

Neither side produced deeds or any other written agreements claiming jurisdiction over these areas but instead produced

60. A.Baracchi, *Le carte del Mille et del Millecento che si conservano nel R.Archivio notarile di Venezia*, Visentini, Venezia, (1882) I, 31 ("de contrá rivo sancti Johannis confessoris"), which originally appeared as R.Fulin, 'Le carte del Mille..trascritte da A.Baracchi', AV, VI-X (1873-75), XX-XXII (1880-81).

61. See R.Cessi, A.Alberti, *Rialto*, op.cit., 12-15, 28, 30-31; F.Corner, *Ecclesiae venetae*, op.cit., Decas Quarta, III, (1749), 109-111, for the disappearance of Rio San Giovanni. Rio San Silvestro was filled in two stages between 1844-6. See G.Zucchetta, *I rii de Venezia*, op.cit., 53. A *piscina* was often a residual canal, navigable but with shallows: W.Dorigo, *Venezia Origini*, op.cit., II, 510; G.Gallicioli, *Delle memorie venete antiche*, op.cit., Tomo I, Bk. I, V, 207ff.

62. See R.Cessi, A.Alberti, *Rialto*, op.cit., n.4, 13 for descriptions of the *contrada* in 1661 and 1713 and n.1, 16 (for the limits of the parish of S.Aponal). The border between S.Aponal and S.Silvestro was similarly not delineated by a canal. For another example of a parish extending beyond a *rio* see M.Agazzi, *Platea Sancti Marci*, op.cit., 39 and n.139 (for S.Geminiano).

a number of aged local men. These witnesses were put a series of questions, drawn up by both parties (*capitoli*).

What those witnesses had to say, or to be more precise, the rendition of their testimony preserved in the documents, is especially interesting. Perhaps the most significant aspect that emerges from the case was the ignorance or indifference of parishioners to the activity of the clergy and the confines of the parish.

Bernardino, a trimmer aged 74, noted that a number of houses had been built in *Calle del Sturion* but he did not know to which parish they belonged. Nicolò, goldsmith at the Sign of the Cross, said that he could not be sure ("*non scio dir alcuna cosa di fermezza*"), but he had heard it said that the priests of San Giovanni had buried someone from the barbers-shop there six months ago (but he could not remember whom).⁶³ Domenico, a second-hand dealer, aged somewhere between 58 and 60, said that from *Calle del Sturion* up to the Rialto bridge was subject to San Giovanni whilst the area beyond the calle was under San Silvestro. However, he admitted: "I can't remember who told me this" ("*non me ricordo da chi l'abbia inteso*"). Piero qd Dominici who had worked as a journeyman (*lavorante*) for a short while at the barber's shop at the sign of the Cage (*Cheba*), noted that no-one died during his brief stay, and that he had no idea where his employers took the sacraments. Taddio, a master

⁶³ Francesco, a master barber, son of Hieronimo Ragni remembered the case. Venturin, barber at the sign of the Crown on the Riva del Ferro, the first "*barberia*" coming from Rialto Bridge, was buried by the priests of San Giovanni, APSS, busta marked San Giacomo de Rialto., f.41v.

barber, aged 81, testified that a half-century earlier, the occupants of the *Osteria del Sturion* went to confession and communion in the church of San Silvestro. Master Alvise, a cofferer (*casseler*) aged 53, could recall a house with a storeroom but could not remember whose. He did know that the priests of San Silvestro administered the sacraments to the occupants of the famous barber's shop at the sign of the Cage, because before the disastrous Rialto fire of 1514, he and his father had two workshops there. Vincent, a 56 year old barber, said he had spoken to a certain Andrea, who had been an apprentice at that barber's shop. Andrea told him that his employers took the sacraments at San Giovanni.

This case is remarkably similar to disputes in the second half of the fifteenth-century which are documented for other *sestieri*. Tommaso Temanza briefly refers to a controversy between the churches of S.Marcuola and San Geremia (Cannaregio) regarding jurisdiction over "*il terren del Geto*" (1458); the case has now been discussed at length by Ennio Concina.⁶⁴ In 1474, conflict surfaced between Santa Maria Formosa and Santa Marina (Castello). Both were triggered by building development; firstly, the da Brolo brothers' construction of a court of 25 row houses on an overgrown islet rented out for the drying and stretching of

⁶⁴ E. Concina., U. Camerino, D. Calabi, *La Citta' degli Ebrei, Il Ghetto di Venezia, Architettura e Urbanistica*, Marsilio, Venezia, (1991), 11-49, ("*Dal Geto de Rame al Geto dove Habita li Hebrei*"). Full testimonies are also reported in E. Teza, '*Intorno alla voce Ghetto. Dubbi da Togliere e da Risvegliare*', *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere e arti*, Tomo LXIII, Part 2, (1903-4), 1273-68, part., 1280-82.

wool;secondly, the palace on marshland "*al ponte de S.Marina*" acquired by the father of Doge Niccolò Marcello.⁶⁵

By relying on elderly parishioners, this way of defining parish boundaries upheld the enduring force and value of communal norms and traditions. By recalling customary rights, continuity was assured. Boundary changes appear as necessary adjustments since the basic parish structure was never placed in discussion. No new parishes were created in this period. New chapels and convents were simply absorbed into the existing parish fabric. They were regarded as immune areas in the parish but not of the parish.⁶⁶

But these disputes are not representative of the *sestiere* as a whole; San Silvestro and San Giovanni were distinctive in that pressures on land were so high at such an early date that the boundary between them became almost invisible. But the boundaries between San Tom  and San Polo, or between San Polo and San Stin were much clearer and were marked by canals (as can be seen in the map on page 31).

This reliance on oral testimony is echoed in the procedure of Venetian civil courts and especially that of the Piovego

65. M.Rosada, *Santa Maria Formosa*, op.cit.p.XXIII and n.1; on this palace (n.a.6107) built by the Anzelieri family from Lucca: G.Tassini, *Curiosit  veneziane ovvero Origini delle denominazioni stradali di Venezia*, Filippi Editore, IX ed., Venezia, (1988), first published by G.Cecchini in 1863, 214, 376-77.

66. For example, the wave of devotion and tremendous flow of offerings generated by a miraculous image of the Virgin, in the parish of S. Marina during the summer of 1480, led to the appointment of five procurators. They were initially granted permission by the Patriarch, Maffeo Girardi, to build a votive chapel, free from parochial jurisdiction ("*tamen quod capella predicta ibi construenda nulli ex parochialibus Ecclesiis vicinis vel propinquis sit modo aliquo subiecta,vel unita*"). The result was the church of S.Maria dei Miracoli: R.Lieberman, *The Church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli*. Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts. Garland Publishing, New York and London (1986), 71-73.

magistracy. 67 From 1282, its officers were charged with identifying and laying claim to usurpations of public land by private individuals and charitable institutions, and with marking "for perpetual memory" the boundaries of private and communal land. Illegitimate possession was revealed through the depositions of parishioners who were asked to recall and narrate communal uses of these areas. Significantly, in many cases their statements were accepted as overriding charters and deeds presented by private individuals.⁶⁸ Witnesses represented the interests of the community and the assumption that all waterways, ponds, sandbars, wasteland, *fondamente* and streets were public unless legitimate claims to the contrary could be established, clearly placing the burden of proof on those asserting private rights.⁶⁹

A late-fifteenth century example from our *sestiere* was a case brought against the Frari in 1488. The magistrates attempted to tear down a hut selling candles on the bridge in front of the church.⁷⁰ Not only did the Frari produce

67. On witnesses in civil courts, see E.Crouzet-Pavan, 'Testimonianze ed esperienze dello spazio. L'esempio di Venezia', in J.C.Maire Vigueur, A.Paravicini Bagliani (eds.), *La parola all'accusato*, Sellerio, Palermo, (1991), 190-212; the *Practica Judicialia* added by the printer Bernardino Benalio to his 1528 version of the Venetian statutes; G.Cassandro, 'La Curia di Petizion', AV, ser.V, XX, (1937), 94-149 (Parte III, 'Procedura').

68. *Codex Publicorum*. Vol I. 1282-98, ed.B.Lanfranchi Strina, Fonti per la storia di Venezia, Sezione I, Archivi pubblici, Venezia, (1985). For the procedure of asserting public rights in San Polo by this magistracy: F.Corner, *Ecclesiae venetae*, op.cit., II, 310-12, (4.2.1286). E.Crouzet-Pavan, *Sopra le acque salse*, op.cit., I, 141ff, for the San Tom  case of 1292; also P.Wichmann. *Die Campi Venedigs. Entwicklungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den venezianischen Kirch-und Quartierspl tzen*. Beitr ge Zur Kunstwissenschaft, Band 12, Scaneg, Munich, (1987), 54 n.194, 190-91.

69. The usual formula was:- "*ad publicam utilitatem omnium volentium per eam transire ire et redire die noctuque*". Quoted by D.Romano, *Patricians and Popolani. The Social Foundations of the Venetian Renaissance State*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, (1987), n.43, 164 For the rest of this paragraph, see *ibid*, 24 and n.45, 164.

70. The excellent review of the *Codex Publicorum* in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, (1988), Disp.1, 119-20 by Giulio Prunai, notes that the exhaustive rubric of the sentences in the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century included such a claim-against a hut (*capannis*) on a "public street".

deeds documenting their jurisdiction over the bridge for an "*infinità de anni*", but the friars also re-inforced their claim on the basis of a collective memory, thus deliberately imitating the procedure of the Piovego court itself. Distinguished locals, including eminent patricians, were able to recall with great precision the locations of the old basilica (demolished in 1420), a funeral monument to Doge Marco Ziani and a wooden bridge, replaced in stone in 1428: thus fulfilling the wishes of the Procurator of the Convent to prove that in the same place where this hut now stood "was the old church and all around the cemetery" 71.

The persistent emphasis on the spoken word can also be set against the emergence towards the end of the *Quattrocento* of more rigorous controls over boundaries, under the impulse of recurrent plague and a constant and sometimes intense preoccupation to preserve the delicate balance of the lagoon. In 1485, a survey was ordered of all reclaimed land negligently conceded by the Piovego. A notary was to compile a register of those areas wrenched from the lagoon, on the basis of measurements carried out by the *proti* of the Collegio alle Acque. Successive encroachments were subject to exorbitant fines: a hundred ducats per square foot. These infringements were perceived as the cause of an alarming

71. P.Paoletti, *L'Architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, Vol. I, Part I, *Età di Transizione*, (1893), *Miscellanea de documenti*, doc. 8, 90. (7.5.1488). In the State Archives several documents are conserved regarding the convent's jurisdiction over the area: S.Maria Graziosa detta dei Frari, Minori Conventuali, b..107, (13.11.1382) Marco di Mezzo of S.Barnaba donates "*un piede de ponte*" XLI-II-39, f.1, 3-7; (15.2.1386). Grant to Zuan qd Andrea de Francia and Francesca his wife of an area of the *campo*, close to the *scuola* of S.Francesco; 10.10.1428: decree of the Great Council for the construction of the stone bridge. See also Archivio Sartori, *Documenti di Storia e Arte Francescana*. Basilica del Santo Padova II/2 Padova, (1986), 1768.

decrease in water levels around the port. In 1474, the port of S.Erasmo had been abandoned for this very reason, and four years later the problem was seen as not merely disconcerting but threatening. The survey was decided on the same day in the Senate as a proposal to scour the Grand Canal, as the corruption of the air was felt to spread plague, then raging in the city. The creation of the *terreni nuovi* at Sant'Andrea della Zirada and the subsequent "addition" at Santa Maria Maggiore mark a watershed in the forming of the city, until then unplanned, ad hoc and fragmentary.⁷² In 1494 the Senate and *Savi alle Acque* assumed the task of controlling the subdivision of lots and the network of *rii*, *calle* and *fondamente*, conforming to a "desegno" (design), presented to the Doge. At Santa Maria Maggiore the outcome was a roughly rectangular parcel of land, criss-crossed by parallel *rii* and *fondamente*. Private initiative was being replaced by government regulation.⁷³

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In this chapter, emphasis has been laid upon the distinct identity of this *sestiere* and the diversity of the parishes it embraced. These aspects also invite some preliminary reflections on the meanings of neighbourhood. The concept of

72. For an example of unplanned growth see the development of the *Barbaria delle Tole* (1454) and in the same contrada behind S.Francesco della Vigna between 1431 and 1457: E.Concina, *Venezia nell'età moderna*, op.cit., 110-112. As Manfredo Tafuri wrote, "la città non è sottoponibile a un unico piano di rinnovo formale e funzionale" (until Cristoforo Sabbadino's project of 1557 and the "aricordi" of Alvise Cornaro): M.Tafuri, A.Foscari, *L'Armonia e i Conflitti. La Chiesa di San Francesco della Vigna nella Venezia del '500*, Microstorie 6, Einaudi, Torino, (1983), 76-79.

73 G.Gianighian., P.Pavanini, 'I Terreni Nuovi di Santa Maria Mazar', in *Dietro i palazzi. Tre secoli di architettura minore a Venezia, (1492-1803)*, Venezia, Arsenale Editrice, (1984), 45-57; On Sant'Andrea della Zirada: E.Crouzet-Pavan, 'La città e la sua laguna', art.cit., 43-44; on both M.Tafuri, *Ricerca del Rinascimento*, op.cit., 119-120.

Rialto as a distinct area and uncertainties about parish boundaries raise questions about the possibilities of close attachments and local loyalties related to parishes. The impression given by the sources is that the boundaries of parishes and other neighbourhoods acknowledged in this sestiere overlapped. They did not necessarily intersect. To conclude, I would like recall Italo Calvino's statement that a city cannot be adequately described from afar; or by a mass of quantitative detail; as the city equally consists of relationships between the measurements of space and the events of its past. Boundaries, or rather the interstices between them, were exploited in 1499. The Heads of the Sestieri attempted to force prostitutes in *Calle del Figher* to be inscribed on their books, like all the prostitutes working "*in la isola de Rialto*." *Corte del Figher* was at the juncture of the parishes of San Silvestro, San Matteo de Rialto and Sant'Aponal. The Cabriel family, who owned a number of houses in the street rented by the month to prostitutes, vigorously opposed the decision, claiming that the street lay outside the "*insula Rivoalti*" and thus fell beyond the jurisdiction of the enforcing authorities. The Heads of the Sestieri were forced to back down.⁷⁴ As Calvino wrote, "the city does not tell its past, it contains it like the lines of a person's hand, written in street corners".

74. G.B.Lorenzi, *Legge e Memorie*, op.cit., doc.79, 83-84, proclamation of 19.12.1498, from *Signori di Notte al Civil, Capitolare.*, contested by the Cabriel on 1.10.1498 (=99), doc.81: "*ex eoque domus a ficario non comprehenduntur nec extant in insula Rivoalti sed sunt in contrata S.Apollinaris*".

CHAPTER 2. SOCIAL ORDERS

The following three chapters are concerned with the people of the *sestiere*. Firstly, it is important to remember that our view of society in San Polo must be coloured by our understanding of the workings of Venetian society in the late fifteenth century. The experience of structural changes in society at this local level are much harder^{to} establish owing to the fragmentary nature of the sources. What follows is a provisional attempt to respond to the challenge.

"Sadly,..it is easy to summarize what little is known of the demographic development of Venice before the sixteenth century" (David Herlihy).¹ Venice took around a century and a half to recuperate the losses of the Black Death. By comparison, Florence's population was only two thirds that of pre-plague levels in the 1560's. Before 1348, Venice's inhabitants numbered roughly 100,000-120,000; after the pestilence had run its course the population had been roughly halved.² Population sharply fluctuated until at least mid-*Quattrocento*, hit by savage plague outbreaks. In 1422, the population was estimated at 85,000. Heavy immigration, encouraged by temporarily relaxing citizenship requirements, produced short-term recovery.

1 D.Herlihy, 'The Population of Verona under Venetian Rule', in J.Hale (ed.) *Renaissance Venice*, op.cit., 92.

2. For this estimate see R.Mueller, 'Peste e Demografia', in *Venezia e la Peste, 1348-1797*, Comune di Venezia, Assessorato alla Cultura e Belle Arti, Marsilio Editori, Venezia, (1979), 93-96; for citizenship see his article, 'Mercanti e imprenditori fiorentini a Venezia nel tardo medioevo', *Società e Storia*, LV, (1993), 38-40, esp., n.21 for a newly created and accurate collection of norms regarding immigration to accompany the CIVES database of *novi cives*. Both are available at the *Laboratorio informatico, Università di Venezia (San Sebastiano)*.

Signs of real recovery are evident in the last decades of the century; in land reclamation to provide housing for an expanding population and in the drop in citizenship privileges. Marked losses are apparent only in 1478 and 1485 as plague convulsed society yet again.³ A city only one-third larger than Florence in 1336-8, Venice was three times the size of her rival by the mid-sixteenth century.

Although the demographic situation of the *sestiere* of San Polo cannot be reconstructed in this period, a firm benchmark is provided by the remaining fragment of the census of 1509, describing the total population of three *sestieri*, including that of San Polo.

Even though over 8300 persons were classified, the figures are suspect, especially as the sums are incorrect. Nevertheless, the breakdown of the inhabitants parish by parish, if expressed in percentage form, reveals striking differences across the *sestiere*.

Population of San Polo Classified in the 1509 census

BY CONTRADA.

SAN POLO	1782	(21.39%)
SAN THOMA	980	(11.76%)
SAN STEN	901	(10.82%)
SANT'AGUSTIN	628	(7.52%)
SAN BOLDO	397	(4.77%)
SAN MATTEO DE RIALTO	370	(4.44%)
SAN ZUANNE ELEMOSINARIO	89	(1.07%)

3. Priests reporting to the Salt Magistrates reported that by May 1478, 6662 persons had already died of the plague and a further 1946 were gravely ill; from May 23 to the end of November 4165 people died quarantined at the pest-house (*Lazzaretto*); R. Palmer, 'L'Azione della Repubblica di Venezia nel controllo della peste: Lo sviluppo della politica governativa', in *Venezia e la Peste*, op.cit., 103-110; D. Malipiero, *Annali*, op.cit., I, 667, noted that in November between thirty and fifty persons were dying a day.

SAN SILVESTRO	1325	(16.23%)
SANT'APONAL	1858	(22.30%)

8339 (sic)

NOBLES	270
CITTADINI	70
HABITANTI	2464
VIADANTI	276
PERSONE INUTILI	5293

8339 (sic)

Source: G.Beloch, 'La popolazione di Venezia nei secoli XVI e XVII', NAV, III, (1902), Part 1, p.46.

The three *contrade* of Sant'Aponal, San Polo and San Silvestro accounted for 60% of the total, whilst the Rialto parishes were sparsely populated, constituting a mere 5.5%. A vast disparity in population levels between the parishes of San Polo and San Boldo is particularly evident, in part a reflection of the great difference in their size. These statistics also indicate substantial discrepancies in population density. The *contrada* of San Tom , despite covering an area almost three times that of San Silvestro, (see Map 1) had only three-quarters of the inhabitants of its densely packed counterpart. We can observe a general imbalance between the density of the central parishes leading away from Rialto and those on the margins of the *sestiere*.

The people of the *sestiere* were additionally divided into five orders - nobles, *cittadini*, inhabitants, transients and "useless persons". The last category amounted to a

remarkable 63% of the total population; but who were reckoned as "useless" remains as yet a mystery. It is most likely that the category included the aged, the very young, the poor, infirm and feeble-minded but presumably also lower-class women and unskilled wage-labourers.

"*Sono tre generation di habitanti: zentilhomeni- che governano il stato, e la Republica- le caxade delli quali di sotto si fara mentione, cittadini, et artesani over populo menudo*". Marin Sanudo's idealized description of 1493 also portrayed Venetian society as fractured into orders: the nobles, citizens and the common people.⁴ Though simplistic, this image reflects a trend underway throughout the last decades of the fourteenth and the course of the fifteenth century: a hardening of social lines, the sharper definition of privilege within the higher reaches of society.

Therefore, the nature of social stratification in San Polo can begin to be analyzed by looking in turn at the development of each order; attention can be focused on how this contemporary view of society related to changes in the tissue of relationships and solidarities.⁵ Significant trends such as the growing cohesion of the *cittadini originarii* and the emergence of poorer neighbourhoods on the fringes of Venice also can be best understood within this framework. In the following chapter I list the noble and

4. M. Sanudo, *De origine, situ e magistratibus urbis*, ed. Aricó, op.cit., 22.

5. I have found Simona Cerutti's recent approach to the formation of social groups and social classifications very stimulating; see the introduction to her *Mestieri e privilegi*, op.cit., VII-XXI.

cittadini families in San Polo revealed by my researches and investigate several in detail.

2.1. THE PATRICIATE.

The constitutional reforms known as the *Serrata* or "closing" of the Great Council between 1297 and 1323 established a closed hereditary aristocracy.⁶ The right of entry to the Council was restricted exclusively to those who were or had been its members and those who could prove the membership of their father or ancestor. This right was inherited by their sons on reaching the age of twenty-five. Noble status became synonymous with membership of the *Maggior Consiglio*.

From 1376 a stream of legislation sought to tighten the criteria for admission to the Great Council and toughen the procedures investigating claims of nobility. Illegitimate sons and those born of women of low degree were disqualified from the Great Council.⁷ The magistracy of the *Avogaria di Comun*, the body that represented in institutional terms the

6. For conflicting interpretations of the *Serrata*, see S.Chojnacki, 'In Search of the Venetian Patriciate: Families and Factions in the Fourteenth Century', in J.R.Hale (ed.), *Renaissance Venice*, Faber and Faber, London, (1973), 47-90; F.Lane, 'The enlargement of the Great Council of Venice', in J.G.Rowe., W.H.Stockdale (eds.), *Florilegium Historiale: Essays presented to Wallace K.Ferguson*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, (1971), 236-74; G.Ruggiero, 'Modernization and the Mythic State in Early Renaissance Venice: The *Serrata* Revisited', *Viator*, X, (1979), 245-56.

7. The 1376 legislation, passed only after three votes of the *Maggior Consiglio*, was directed against those patricians who married "*de mulieribus debilis et vilis condicionis*" post partum to get their sons into the Great Council. On 26.5.1422, it was further specified, "If any member of the Great Council marries a slave woman of any race or status whom he bought for money or for any other consideration, the children he has by such women or slaves shall be barred from the Great Council [...] Furthermore, should it happen that any Venetian nobleman has carnal intercourse with any female servant of his or any other woman of low degree, and then he says he has married here, then the children born of such women may not attend or be part of the Great Council unless the bridegroom proves the matter in person on the day of the wedding to the Avogadori di Commun by the testimony of reliable witnesses": S.Chojnacki, 'In Search of the Venetian Patriciate', art.cit., 82 n.44; D.Chambers, B.Pullan, *Venice. A Documentary History*, op.cit., 245, n.3.

"guardians of the law", screened claims more rigorously from the 1380's.

The final modification to the ranks of the patriciate was made during the crippling war of Chioggia (1378-81) with the inclusion of thirty citizen families. A further closing of the patriciate was apparent in October 1403. Two Heads (*capi*) of the Forty (*Quarantia*) presented to the *Collegio* a proposal to replace each noble family that became extinct with one from the most worthy *cittadini originarii*.⁸ The scheme was not considered worthy of careful examination, let alone a vote in the Senate or Great Council. Legislation of 1407, 1408 and 1421 stiffened the rules for proving noble birth and increased fines for failure.

Annually, on the feast day of Santa Barbara (December 4th), lots were drawn by the Doge for young nobles to enter the Council at age twenty instead of the statutory age of twenty-five. The ballot was open to any young nobles who were eighteen years old. In 1414, to stem the recurrent attempts of those who "stain the reputation, status and honour" of the city, it was stipulated that a candidate's backers had to pledge 200 lire that he had reached eighteen and 500 lire that he was of legitimate birth.⁹

If the dividing line separating the nobility from the rest of society became more rigid, cracks were appearing within

8. The *Quarantia* or Council of Forty elected three heads (*capi*), who with the Doge and six ducal councillors in this period constituted the *Collegio*.

9. S. Chojnacki, 'Political Adulthood in Fifteenth-Century Venice', *American Historical Review*, XCI, (1986), 799 and *ibid.*, 'Kinship Ties and Young Patricians in Fifteenth-Century Venice', *Renaissance Quarterly*, XXXVIII, (1985), 243-45; J. Law, 'Age Qualification and the Venetian Constitution: The Case of the Capello Family', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XXXIX, (1971), 125-137.

the fabric of the order from the third decade of the *Quattrocento*. "Since the number of poor young nobles has so greatly increased, as everyone can see, measures must be taken", declared the Senate in 1433. In the same year the *Signoria* was bombarded with petitions from impoverished nobles barred from the Great Council and deprived of the right to be elected to office because of their non-payment of forced loans.

The phenomenon of poor nobles was nothing new and the explicit acknowledgement of their dependence on office was in part a consequence of Great Council legislation, which from the 1380's had earmarked certain minor offices for needy patricians. However, the Senate clearly put the accent on the novel extent of the problem. This surge in noble poverty is, in my opinion, influenced by a growth in the size of the entire patriciate, hinted at in preambles and also in repeated references to the turbulent antics of young nobles in the Great Council in the 1440's. The situation was all the more disconcerting because it was accompanied by dangerous tensions, underlined by an electoral conspiracy in 1432. Escalating electioneering (*broglia*), a rise in the volume of petitions for favours (*grazie*) and the disregard for age-requirements strongly suggest a sharpened interest in government posts from the 1420s, and imply that offices were playing an increasingly significant part in the

financial strategies of a large proportion of the patriciate.¹⁰

The exact number of poor nobles in San Polo remains unknown, as evidence of the wealth of individual patricians in all *sestieri* is so sparse. Nonetheless, it seems reasonable to suggest that this general tendency was reflected in San Polo.¹¹ Close examination of archival evidence indicates that the problem was exacerbated during the rest of the century.

Age-based limits placed on political participation, creating a sort of gerontocracy, generated antagonism between young and old over choice offices. The divisiveness induced by lobbying and intrigue throttled equality of opportunity amongst the nobility - "that linchpin of the republican regime" - threatening to upset the conscientious balancing act between private interest and public welfare. These pressures surfaced in persistent but ineffectual attempts to restrain nominations through favour and in antagonism between the Great Council and the Senate.¹²

New challenges were met with traditional schemes of poor relief, similar to the pensions conferred on aged mariners: subsidies in the form of government posts, conscious that the recipients "had no better way of supporting themselves"

10. For increasing evidence of *broglio* see D.Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate. Reality versus Myth*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago, (1986), 258-59 (Appendix, "Broglia:Laws and Convictions"), 258-59.

11. Quote from G.Cozzi, 'Authority and the Law', art.cit., 308.

12. For these disputes (over castellanies): J.Law, 'Lo Stato Veneziano e le castellanerie di Verona', in G.Cracco, M.Knapton, (eds.), *Dentro lo stato italiano. Venezia e la Terraferma fra Quattrocento e Seicento*, Gruppo culturale Civis, Biblioteca Capuccini, Trento, (1984), 117-138.

(*"non abbian altra miglior via, ne mior modo de sustenar la vita soa"*). However these schemes degenerated, especially in the case of the institution of *balestriere della popa*: the position of bowman on merchant galleys and private ships.¹³

These posts, "a socialised apprenticeship to trade and sea", were transformed into an opportunity for needy patricians to repair the family fortune. As well as a modest salary, profits of up to two hundred ducats could be made from cargo carried free of freight rates. As early as the 1430's substitution was rife, whilst in the 1480's it was widely recognised they had become sinecures awarded in bulk and openly traded for cash. In 1499, eight were granted to the wife of Hieronimo Zorzi, convicted of murder. The annalist Malipiero bitterly commented "(And) so the treasure which serves as sustenance for poor needy nobles was dispensed to someone to whom it ought not" (*così el thesoro che serve per alimento de poveri zentilhomeni bisognosi, vien dispensa a chi non se dovrebbe*).¹⁴ Unfortunately, as no records of *balestrieri* survive, we cannot trace which nobles in San Polo put their names forward. But Sanudo does mention the grant of three

13. For this section: *Compilazione Leggi*, ser.I, b.68 'Balestrieri'; F.Lane, *Andrea Barbarigo*, op.cit., 16; D.Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, op.cit., 34-39.

14. Sampling of *balestrieri*, in *Avogaria di Comun*, *Prove di Eta*, II, 178/2, "Patroni di galea", f.69v (12.8.1444), 70v (4.12.1450), 73r, 106v, 135v (22.5.1456), 140r (21.3.1444, 16.7.1444), 142v, 23.7.1444, f.143r-v, (30.7.1444, 12.8.1444)..f.245r-246r, (2.9.1454, 7.9.1454), f.247v-248r, (22.1.1450, 28.1450mv (=1451), 250r 2.4.1451, f.251r (6.4.1451, 7.4.1451), 12.4.1451, f.251v. I am dubious as to whether all these young nobles were indeed sons of poor patricians but much research still needs to be done.

balestrarie each to the sons of Zuan Bondumier, killed defending Negroponte in 1470 (residents of San Tom ).¹⁵

Hardship within the patriciate was such such that in 1492 two ambitious Heads of the Forty, Francesco qd Piero Falier and Cabriel qd Felice Bon, playing on frustations, proposed to distribute the considerable sum of 70,000 ducats to poor noblemen who held no office. Nevertheless the scheme was thrown out and its architects banished for life to Nicosia.¹⁶

In my view, the problem of noble poverty was fuelled by the unrelenting and brutal fiscal strains of almost continual warfare. The Milanese wars (1426-54) provoked a massive recourse to forced loans, levied at an average of 15% of assessed wealth each year with the exception of the brief lull between April 1428 and August 1430. For those inscribed on the *estimo* the squeeze amounted to 434% of assessed wealth in the twenty-eight years of conflict.¹⁷ The *decima* (tenth), the first ordinary direct tax, was to hit even harder. The first tenth was levied in June 1463, the second by March 1464, but the next year the third, fourth and fifth followed in short sucession. From then on until 1482 at least two *decime* a year were imposed.¹⁸ As early as August

15. For them, see chapter 3, 88-93.

16. G.Cozzi, 'Authority and the Law in Renaissance Venice', in J.R. Hale (ed.), *Renaissance Venice*, op.cit., 300; R.Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, (1980), 76.

17. G.Luzzatto, *Il debito pubblico della Repubblica di Venezia, dagli ultimi decenni del XII secolo alla fine del XV*, Mercato e Azienda, Collana di studi economici e sociali, Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, Varese, Milano, (1963), 230-234. (This book is a reprint of his introduction to *I prestiti della Repubblica di Venezia*, op.cit., with an appendix by Frederic Lane.

18. By 1468 ten had been levied, eighteen by January 1472, twenty-four by October 1474: thirty-three by July 1477.

1467 the Senate announced a month's moratorium on fines for late payment of *decime* because "many of our nobles and citizens could not pay their *decime* and taxes because of their poverty and need"¹⁹. A decade later Senators called attention to "*algune miserabele persone cussi zentilhomeni come popolari*", unable to support the latest tax, in such straits that they were openly begging. These patricians, without "any livelihood" (*modo alguno de viver*), were judged to have to have completely lost "*el fructo de la nobiltá*".²⁰ As devastating were notable reductions in public salaries and legitimate profits (*utilitá*) enforced from 1434. A permanent levy of 30% was imposed on all salaries under four hundred ducats, and 40% on those above that sum. Following the loss of Negroponte in 1470, the tax was raised to two-thirds, but the measure was so widely flouted that it was altered in December 1471. Quotas were fixed at 35 and 50%, with an additional four months service without pay.²¹

These levies seem to have inflamed competition for well-paid posts, as they triggered off increases in refusals of burdensome offices. More nobles were attending the Great Council, so much so that two extra benches were added in September 1475.²² Poor nobles were as dependent on office as

19. Ibid., 260. Also Senato, Terra, 5, f.193v, (27.8. 1467). Other examples in M.Sanudo, *Le Vite dei Dogi (1474-1494)*, I, ed.A.Aricó, Editrice Antenore, Padova, (1989), f.44v, 87 "*fo posto do Xme: numero 32 e 33*", (16.7.1477); f.46v, 92, "*a di 14 novembre, fu posto tre decime: numero 34, 35, 36*"; f.117r, 223 (14.11.1477); For further information on the *decime*, see Chapter 5.

20. Senato, Terra, 7, f.188r, (15.12 1477).

21. *Bilanci generali*, Vol.I, Tomo I, op.cit., doc. 120, pp.143-5; MC, Regina, c.95r, 2.9.1470; ibid., c.109r, 21.12.1471; D. Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, op.cit, 126; M. Knapton, 'La Condanna Penale di Alvise Querini, Ex Rettore di Rovereto (1477): Solo Un'Altra Smentita del Mito di Venezia?', draft extract.

22. M.Sanudo, *Le Vite dei Dogi*, ed. A.Aricó, op.cit., f.8r, p.19

ever: and this is especially evident in numerous petitions submitted to the Council of Ten. Caught in this vicious circle, poor nobles adopted desperate measures: they sold their votes. Electors seem to have blatantly invited contributions, until the last decade of the century when poor nobles organised themselves into mercenary bands: the infamous "Swiss" (*Svizzeri*) of the early *Cinquecento*.²³ Alvise Querini qd Francesco of San Tomà was condemned for corruption whilst *Rettore* of Rovereto (April 1473-April 1476). Yet perhaps we can interpret his behaviour as in part of the pressure on salaries.

The few surviving petitions give no indication of parish. But they consistently emphasize the crippling burden of *decime* and large families, which may be in part a reflection of dowry inflation. Already considered "insupportably" high in 1420, the limit on dowries was set at 1,600 ducats: by 1505 the maximum had to be fixed at 3,000 ducats. However the causes of the ruin of families remain sketchy: one was certainly exile. Biagio Michiel, "without anything in this world except a little property", hard hit by the *decime* with an aged sick wife and a daughter of marriageable age (as well as two exiled sons) pleaded to be allowed to return to the city.²⁴ Dolfin Dolfin, forced to live hand to mouth

23. "What is certain is that towards the end of the fifteenth century the phenomenon of '*broglia*' took on disturbing proportions": G. Cozzi, 'Authority and the Law', art.cit., 299.

24. The reasons for Biagio's exile (together with his sons?) are not mentioned in his petition.

after six years banishment and burdened with debts, was utterly wrecked when he lost his son.²⁵

This catalogue of rising poverty must also be set against fluid divisions within the patriciate, traditionally cited as explanations of faction.²⁶ Domenico Malipiero devotes a long passage in his *Annali* to the bitter struggle between "old and "new" families over the ducal election won by Agostino Barbarigo, that "caused many to speak of" two "factions" within the nobility. The *case nuove* were a large group of families who traced their prominence to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, whilst the *case vecchie* traced an often legendary ancestry to before the ninth century.²⁷ However, this seems to have been a latent division, that was manipulated as a political springboard at certain moments rather than enduring political currents. In the *sestiere*, Nicolò qd Francesco Zane of San Stin, from a *casa vecchia* married into the Malipiero (1444). The following year his brother, Gerolamo married into another *casa nuova*, the Priuli. In 1460, his cousin Giacomo wed a Loredan. Perhaps far more significant in politics was the more fluid

25. Dolfen Dolfen: Dieci, Misti, 23, 23.2.1487, f.189r; Biaxio Michiel, *ibid.*, 18.3.1487, f.198r. Donald Queller has described another pitiful appeal, that of Michele Salamon in *The Venetian Patriciate*, *op.cit.*, 31.

26. "A constant tension" between conservative attitudes "usually associated with the older patricians of each generation, of protecting Venetian trade and eastern interests and avoiding mainland entanglements" and the more radical stances of younger politicians - *giovani*, who tended to favour aggression and a full-scale commitment to the Terraferma, also boiled over into outright antagonisms at various moments during the century: M.Mallett, J.R.Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State. Venice c.1440 to 1617*, *op.cit.*, 200-201.

27. R. Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice*, *op.cit.*, 92-96; D.Malipiero, *Annali*, *op.cit.*, 681 ; M.Sanudo, *Vite dei Dogi*, BNM, Ms. Ital. Cl.VII, 531 (=7152), ff. 271r-273r, translated in D. Chambers and B.Pullan (eds.) *Venice: a documentary history*, *op.cit.* 72-73.

opposition between those with "full and empty warehouses" (*"li magazeni pieni con li vuodi"*).

It is not however possible to identify distinct orders within the nobility. The ruling elite within the patriciate remained undefined. The predominance of around one hundred to two hundred nobles- the *Primi della terra*- is evident in repeated election to the Senate, the Collegio, the Council of Ten, embassies and key governorships, a position "achieved through a variable formula based on family size, wealth, experience and political and military achievements".²⁸ Nevertheless, Venice's nobles were above all renowned for their mercantile activities. Although the Senate was described as the board of an immense "company" of Venetian merchants and though many nobles turned to a political career after years of mercantile activity, the continuing influence of a solid commercial position has yet to be fully explored.

2.2. CITTADINI.

In the second half of the *Quattrocento*, a restricted number of families long established in Venice were increasingly defined as a separate order immediately beneath the nobility: the *cittadini originarii*. Even though the order remained extremely fluid until the last quarter of the century, its emergence was visible in the *sestiere*.

²⁸ D.Hay, J.Law, *Italy in the Age of the Renaissance 1380-1530*, Longman, London and New York, (1989), 266.

Cittadini originarii were first loosely defined as early as 1363, 1375 and 1385 in contrast to naturalized citizens.²⁹ In 1410, the four principal offices in the *Scuole Grandi* were reserved by the Council of Ten to *cittadini per nation* (that is born in the city) or to those citizens by privilege who could prove at least twenty years residence, a rule extended to all offices in 1438. Five years later, it became accepted that Chancery posts should be entrusted to men whose long-standing residence and family tradition provided a guarantee of their suitability.³⁰ In practice, advancement in the Chancery was often entirely dependent upon influential patrons and tenacious loyalty: there was no better recommendation than the "*benemerenze*" (merits) obtained by ancestors in prompt and disinterested service to the Republic.³¹

Nevertheless, the principle only became law some thirty-five years later when the Council of Ten restricted

29. Citizenship granted by privilege was of two kinds- *de intus* and *de extra*. The former permitted trade within the city and allowed entrance into the guilds and certain minor internal posts; the latter granted freedom to navigate and commerce in Venetian dominions abroad, with certain restrictions. Both were dependent upon prolonged residence in Venice (originally ten and twenty-five years respectively) and commitment to the state in having paid all imposts.

30. "Everyone understands [...] that our Chancery should be staffed by fit and capable persons [...] able to act efficiently in all situations [...] so the utmost trust can be placed in them", ran the preamble to a Great Council law of 1443: MC, Ursa, reg. 23, c.124r quoted in G.Cozzi, M.Knapton, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, op.cit., 143.

31. On the *cittadini originarii* see, M. Casini, 'La Cittadinanza Originaria a Venezia tra i secoli XV e XVI. Una Linea Interpretativa', in *Studi Veneti Offerti a Gaetano Cozzi*, II Cardo, Vicenza (1992); G. Cozzi, 'La Cittadinanza' and 'La cancelleria' in G.Cozzi, M.Knapton, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, op.cit. pp.133-146; M.Neff, *Chancery secretaries in Venetian politics and society, 1480-1533*, Ph.D.thesis, UCLA, (1985), Ann Arbor, Michigan, (1985); A.Zannini, *Burocrazia e Burocrati a Venezia in età moderna. I Cittadini originarii (secoli XVI-XVIII)*, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti, Memorie, Vol.XLXVII, Venezia, (1993); G.Trebbi 'La cancelleria veneta nei secoli XVI e XVII', *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi*, XIV, (1980), 65-125; B.Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice, The Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, (1971), pp. 100-114.

admission to *cittadini originari*. In January 1484, it was further stipulated that aspirants had to prove they were born in lawful wedlock to "*boni cittadini nostri venetiani*".

Pressure from below came from established families who sought to be recognised as uniquely qualified for office. Long lists of candidates for a whole range of public posts were transcribed in the registers (*Notatorii*) of the *Collegio* throughout the first seven decades of the *Quattrocento*. Against their names many added the title of *cives originarius*. *Cittadini* from San Polo who did so include Nicolò Michaelis and Petrus Pianelli of San Silvestro.³² By the 1460's, this claim of a family tradition of service to the Republic and prolonged residence had become almost a requisite to hold certain scribal offices. This insistence on "*merito, virtù e progenitori*" was extended in 1481 to the numerous minor public posts (reserved to *populares veneti*) decided in the *Quarantia Criminal* every four years.³³

A sense of belonging to this precise order is evident in the will of a chancery official from San Polo, Nicolò Petriani of Sant'Aponal. If his sons left no heirs, each year three poor girls "*firole di zitadini originarii che fosse più bexognose*" were to be given twenty ducats towards their dowries from the rents of his properties.

32. Pianellis: 15.3.1471 and 7.9.1473 , Collegio, Notatorio, 11, f.90r, f.166v; Michaelis: 21.9.1474, *ibid.*, f.104v.

33. 25.9.1481, MC, Stella, 20v-21r; M.Neff, *Chancery secretaries*, op.cit., 18.

In the *sestiere*, a sharp division between rich and poor arose within the *Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista*, between an "exempt" order of brothers and those "subject to the discipline", who joined in the hope of receiving alms and assistance.³⁴ These lowly members were required to perform more unpleasant tasks, such as scourging themselves during processions and attending funerals. Significantly, charity was administered in a very discriminatory way (as in the other *Scuole Grandi*). In 1466, alms were reserved to its own brothers (despite apparent opposition), whilst in 1490 all those in receipt of monthly charity, the inhabitants of their almshouses and the 60 probationary members of the *Scuola* were ordered to attend all funerals on pain of losing all benefits.³⁵

In my opinion, the importance of *benemerenza* in the definition of this order has not been sufficiently recognized. Sanudo states that *cittadini* competing for the above posts narrated "*li benemeriti soi, e di soi passati*".³⁶ A symptom of the significance of proving the "*antica benemerenza*" of one's family was the forgery of

34. Forty to eighty wealthy commoners known as "*boni homines*" had to ratify all important financial and administrative decisions within the *Scuola*. They "were probably synonymous with the *cittadini originarii*": W. Wurthmann, 'The Council of Ten and the *Scuole Grandi* in Early Renaissance Venice', SV, n.s. XVIII, (1989), 31.

35. Ibid., 53; B. Pullan, *Rich and Poor*, op.cit., 63-83 ('The Orders of Rich and Poor').

36. M. Sanudo, *De origine, situ e magistratibus urbis*, op.cit., 114; Similarly, the preamble to the 1444 law determining a four-year term for offices decided in the Forty reads "*Cum ad officia nostra tam Sancti Marci quam Rivoalti solitum sit facere et constituere scribas, notarios ad vitam. et sicut omnibus notissimus est sunt quam plures et infiniti populares nostri qui non solum facultatem, et substantiam suam consumpserunt in factionibus terrae verum, etiam, et personam ac proprium sanguinem suum et suorum exposuerunt, et effunderunt pro honore et statu ac exaltatione huius nostrae Republicae, et tamquam digni e benemeriti non possunt in officiis nostris praedictis participare nisi per longi temporis spatium.*": Quoted in A. Zannini, *Burocrazia*, op.cit., n.15, p.191.

Andrea Boltremo. A scribe at the *Dieci di Rialto*, Boltremo in 1479 borrowed the *Capitolare dell'Armar*, and added his family to those *popolani* who had made conspicuous financial contributions during the War of Chioggia: even inventing a payment of 10,000 ducats in bonds.³⁷

The ambiguous concept of "*benemeranza*", however, should not be isolated from criteria linked to mercantile values, such as wealth and the practice of a "*mestiere da conto*" (an "important" trade) which so thoroughly permeated society. In this regard, it seems especially significant that the status of *cittadino originarius* was automatically equated with the possession of full trading rights.³⁸ Within the *Scuole Grandi*, it seems that a solid commercial position was often a determining factor in attaining leading offices. During the 1470's, the governing boards (*banche*) of the *Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista* included the drapers Domenegho Cataben and Nicolò Trevisan, residents of our *sestiere*.³⁹

37. V.Lazzarini, 'Le Offerte per la Guerra di Chioggia e un falsario del Quattrocento', *NAV*, n.s. IV, (1902), Parte I, 202-213.

38. Such a vague concept of the merits of citizen families also appears in the treatise *De praestantia venetae politiae* of Giovanni Caldiera, himself from a wealthy and long-established popular family. Caldiera claimed that citizens are granted "excellent rewards for their merits" and "for their merits are made the heads of scuole"; M.King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, (1986), 108.

39. Similarly, the *banche* of the *Scuola Grande della Carità* (in Cannaregio) during the previous decade included the great timber merchants Nicolò Saraton and Alvise Salvazzo, Piero de Zuanne "delle telle", the furrier Zuan Testa and Lunardo Sagredo "Banchier": *Scuola Grande della Carità, Successione ereditarie Guardiani e confratelli 1450-1545*, (uncatalogued) Domenico de Piero of Sant'Agnese (Dorsoduro), an immensely wealthy trader in precious stones was *Guardian Grande* of the *Scuola Grande de San Marco* in 1473, 1482, 1487 and 1496: P.Paoletti, *L'Architettura e la scultura a Venezia*, op.cit., 134-35, 184 and P.Sohn, *The Scuola Grande of San Marco, 1437-1550. The Architecture of a Venetian Lay Confraternity*, Garland Publishing, New York and London (1982), n.18, 18 and 118-21. It should be further noted that officers were not eligible for re-election to the *Banca* until five years had elapsed; B.Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice*, op.cit., 114.

However, the contours of the *cittadini originarii* remained roughly drawn. Amongst those who considered themselves *cittadini originarii* in mid-1471, for example, were obscure figures such as Cristoforo "conzanave", Hieronimo Nicolai, Polo Bondi and Jacobus Trevisan. Sanudo, however, merely wrote of *cittadini* rather than *cittadini originarii* - a term which loosely expressed the idea of a "middling sort" of respectable commoners. If we have already noted all the elements of a separate order of *cittadini originarii* gathering, this wider group is more amorphous.

In October 1487, for example, the loggia at Rialto was described by the Senate as set apart for "*zentilhomeni, mercadanti e altri cittadini*", whilst in May 1494, boatmen were prohibited from ferrying along the *riva* at Rialto that led from the New Fish Market to the vegetable stalls "*per la comodità di zentilhomeni, zitadini e mercadanti e forestieri*".⁴⁰ It seems that it is in the sense of leading commoners that Sanudo respectively described Zuan de Riviera of San Tomá and Francesco Zucchato de Polo as "*citadin di questa citá, homo richo*" and "*etiam lui citadin richo*".⁴¹

Parallels can be drawn between the term *cittadini* and other equally vague concepts such as "important comoners", "the best commoners", and "men of standing". When the Council of Ten ordered the registration of men fit to bear arms resident in the city, they assigned the task to two

40. Translations: "For nobles, merchants and other citizens"; "For the convenience of nobles, citizens and merchants and foreigners": Provveditori al Sal, Notatorio, II, October 1487 and b.6 r.4, 28.12 1487, f.24r and Notatorio IV, 19r, 28.5 1494.

41. M. Sanudo, *Le Vite dei Dogi*, ed.A.Aricò, op.cit., f.118r, 224.

nobles from each parish or in want of better "*ex populares ex melioribus*".⁴² Similarly a "suitable" and "competent" "*cives populares*" was to be chosen in each *sestiere* in April 1464 to conduct careful investigations for plague suspects.⁴³

These inexact descriptions imply the absence of distinctive traits outlining the category of *cittadini*. What seems to have distinguished them from the rest of the population were combinations of factors such as wealth, family tradition, service to the state, and office-holding. Overlapping these factors was the real social divide between those who ^{earned} ~~earn~~ their living by manual labour ("*ex quibus proprio sudore*") and those by means of commercial activities and "*industria*". This was the distinction between an ignoble, lowly trade and a "*gentile arte*".⁴⁴ According to Professor Tucci, a restricted range of occupations "tended to level out whatever was peculiar to the various attitudes of the *cittadini* apart from their purely technical aspects, and brought about a decided similarity of outlook, and therefore

42. 8.6 1440, Dieci, Misti, 12, c.61v, published in A. Contento, 'Il censimento della popolazione sotto la Repubblica veneta', NAV, XX, (1900), 192.

43. 17.4 1464 in *Venezia e la Peste 1348/1797*, Marsilio Editori, Venezia, (1979), 365.

44. The boundary between honourable and manual trades is especially marked in Senate deliberations for the extraordinary taxes of 1453 and the scope of the *decime*: -7.12.1453: Senato, Terra, 3, c. 89r in E.Besta, *Bilanci generali*, op.cit, doc. 102., 121-122. "*Item quod omnes illi qui stant in domibus que solvunt de affectu quindecim in supra, solvere debeant medietatem eius quod solvunt de affectu pro una vice. Et omnes illi qui stant in domibus propriis solvant medietatem eius quod alias extimate fuerunt, tempore buccatici. Et omnes appotece, volte, solaria et stationes, tam communis quam specialium personarum, site in insula Rivoalti et in sancto Apolinari et in sancto Silvestro. et a Rivoalto, et in sancto bartolomeo ac santo Johanne Grisostom, in quibus non tantum artes mecanice sed etiam industria et mercatura exercetur- Exceptis tamen apotecis barbitonsorem, cerdonum et similium, qui de semplice labore manuum et non de aliqua industria victum percipiunt. Also Senato, Terra, 5, f.144v, 6.12.1465 "ad taxandum apothecas-non autem illas in quibus exercubuntur artes mecanice et laboriose ex quibus proprio sudore et manibus laborantes homines victum in diem queritant".*

of lifestyles and their social manifestations".⁴⁵ That line, however, was at times ambiguous: Benedetto Cotrugli in *Il Libro dell'Arte di Mercatura*, (1458) classified the mercers and drapers as belonging to an inferior grade of merchants, befitting those "*che usano del meccanico*".⁴⁶ However, it is difficult to avoid the impression that emotive judgements like reputation (*fama*) and esteem, generally invisible from the documentation were an integral part of *cittadino* status. In fact it was on the basis of hearsay - "*per pubblica fama e voce*"- that candidates for the chancery established they were legitimate sons of "*boni citadini nostri venetiani*".

2.3. THE *POPOLO MINUTO*.

Sanudo lumped together all the common people, a category that obscured a huge variation of status and skills about which it is extremely difficult to generalize. One of the distinctive features of San Polo (and indeed of Venice in general) is the sheer number of trades organized into separate guilds (*arti*).

For example, in the building trade, window-makers and makers of floors in *terazzo* each had their own organisations.⁴⁷ Small specialized firms were employed in building palaces, such as those who dealt only with chimneys

45. U.Tucci, 'The Psychology of the Venetian Merchant in the Sixteenth Century', in J.Hale (ed.), *Renaissance Venice*, op.cit., 360-61.

46 B.Cotrugli, *Il Libro dell'Arte di Mercatura*, ed. U.Tucci, Arsenale Editrice, Venezia, (1990), c.31r, 177.

47 Uniquely Venetian, *terazzo* is polished flooring made of two layers of multicoloured chips of marble and crushed brick set in a cement. See E.Concina, *Pietre, Parole, Storia. Glossario della costruzione nelle fonti veneziane (secoli XV-XVIII)*, Biblioteca di Architettura e Urbanistica, Marsilio Editori, Venezia, (1988), entry 'Terazzo'.

or paving, gangs contracted to do extremely prescribed work. An example from San Polo is Ca' Pisani Moretta on the Grand Canal at San Tom  (dated to around 1470). Renaissance elements have crept into the fa ade; the little windows of the mezzanine floor and the strip pilasters at its edges break with tradition. These point to the infiltration amidst a great division of labour of one or two Lombard firms responsible only for those details.⁴⁸ (However, no detailed records of palace construction survive from San Polo).

Guilds were also themselves splintered; the shoemakers, who bought leather for making soles from the *fondaco* (warehouse) established from 1460 at Rialto, were split into *calegheri* and *zavateri* (cobblers).⁴⁹ But not all divisions were rigid: it was possible for builders and house carpenters to practise both crafts.⁵⁰

Dotted in and around Rialto were a proliferation of small textile workshops, each functioning separately, some linked by a common guild, others by commerce and complex processes of production. For instance, *zuponeri* who made quilted jackets and doublets in standard sizes for a largely export trade were closely associated with *coltreri*, makers of

48 Noted by M.Tafuri in the fourth lecture of his 1981-82 course "Venezia nel tempo dell'Umanesimo:1460-1509", held at the Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia.

49. See A.Vianello, *L'Arte dei Calegheri e Zavateri di Venezia tra XVII e XVIII secolo*, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti, Memorie, Vol.XLIX, Venezia, (1993); D.Davanzo-Poli, *I mestieri della moda a Venezia nei secoli XIII-XVIII- Documenti*, 2 vols., Edizioni del Gazzettino, Venezia, (1986).

50. S.Connell, *The Employment of Sculptors and Stone-Masons in Venice in the 15th century* (Ph.D. thesis, Warburg Institute, University of London), Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts, Garland Publishing, New and London (1988), 164;

coverlets and bed-quilts.⁵¹ Both depended upon *fustagneri*, who supplied them with cotton wadding and cloth (*bombaxo*);⁵² *coltre*, *zuponi* and *zornede* (loose gowns) restuffed with *bambaso* could equally be found on the stalls of second-hand dealers at Rialto, such as Baldisera Balbi and Alvise Salvazo.⁵³ *Petteneri* (makers of loom reeds and combs) are also documented in these parishes, yet cotton beaters, weavers and dyers were missing. This century saw a notable expansion of manufactures within the city, and "it is clear that the manufacture of fustian (a mix of wool and cotton)..was becoming increasingly important".⁵⁴

But the spectrum of the *fustagneri* ranged from merchants to weavers; moreover, analysis of guild statutes reveal "the higher a man rose socially, the less he tended to describe himself specifically".⁵⁵ Thus even if the *popolo minuto* of the *sestiere* is broken down into professional units, easy comparisons of social status are still thwarted. Though guilds were fissured into clear hierarchies of masters,

51. G.Monticolo, *I capitolari delle Arti Veneziane sottoposte alla Giustizia e poi alla Giustizia Vecchia, dalle origini al MCCCXXX*, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, Istituto Storico Italiano, Vol.I, Roma, (1896), 23-54, M.F.Mazzaoui, *The Italian Cotton Industry in the Later Middle Ages, 1100-1600*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, (1981); *I Mestieri della moda a Venezia: Dal XIII al XVIII Secolo*, Catalogo della mostra Luglio-Settembre 1988, Ala Napoleonica e Museo Correr, Edizioni del Cavallino, Venezia, (1988), 343-48 (glossary); D.Davanzo-Poli, *I mestieri*, op.cit.

52. In addition to the works listed in the previous note, more information on *fustagneri* can be found in the revised version of their statutes; BMC, *Mariegole*, cl.IV, n.I, 12.2.1502mv (=1503).

53. See BMC, *Mariegole*, cl.IV, 195, *Strazzaroli*, 24.7.1430, cap.XV, part published in G.Monticolo, *I capitolari*, op.cit., Vol.II/II, 474-85; For Cabriel de Antonio who ran this shop for Alvise Salvazzo and fled Venice with the entire stock, GdP, *Sentenze a Giustizia*, 156, f.184v (24.7.1473). An inventory of the stock is copied in this register, including 52 quilts, 50 sheets, the same number of quilt-covers and three rugs. Another inventory survives for the shop of ser Joannis Andrea (no parish given): he sold *gonelle da griso* (shifts/surcoats of rough woollen cloth), *gabbani* (hooded cloaks), *gabanelli* and *zuponi* (doublets): GdP, *Sentenze a Giustizia*, 165, f.19v-20v, 11.1.1476mv (=1477).

54. R.Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders. The World of the Guilds in Venice and Europe, c.1250-c.1650*, Barnes and Noble, Totowa, New Jersey, (1987), 82.

55. B.Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice*, op.cit., 95, 110.

journeymen (*lavoranti*) and apprentices (*garzoni*), glaring differences in the organisation and conditions of work further compound the problem.

Cobblers appear to have been pedlars and can perhaps be compared with women who hawked fruit and eggs around the city, or with the inhabitants of Chioggia, Mazzorbo and Malamocco who brought barge-loads of melons for sale on the bridge at Rialto, at the loggia there, "*quam in aliis locis omnibus Rivoalti et S.Marci*". Unskilled labourers, excluded from the builders' and carpenters guilds, however, picked up work wherever they could find it, going from one site to another, according to short-term fluctuations in demand. They were paid 12-15 *soldi* a day, about the same wage as porters (*facchini*) on Rialto's *rive* or the charcoal bearers based at Sant'Aponal. Their counterparts across the city, stevedores (*bastasi*) at the state dockyards, the Arsenal were paid only 10 *soldi* a day, but work was more regular.⁵⁶ Wool combers, teaselers and shearers, scattered across the *sestiere* but perhaps more densely concentrated in the parish of San Stin, worked for piece-rates.⁵⁷

56. On labourers (*manoali*, *lavoranti*), see S.Connell, *The Employment*, op.cit., 158-59, 168, 184; on porters at Rialto, D.Calabi, 'Canali, Rive, approdi', art.cit., 783-84 and at the Arsenal; R.Davis, *Shipbuilders of the Venetian Arsenal: Workers and Workplace in the Preindustrial City*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, (1991), 290-92 F.Lane, *Navires et Constructeurs à Venise pendant la Renaissance*, Ecole Pratique des Haut Etudes, VIème Section, Centres du Recherches Historiques, Oeuvres Etrangères, Paris, (1969) op.cit., 161, 171-72.

57. By contrast, caulkers were forbidden to work for anything but a daily wage, to avoid the dire consequences of shoddy workmanship. We also need to make careful distinctions between those trades who bought raw materials in bulk through the guild (such as pork butchers, blacksmiths, potters, ironmongers, bell-makers and tanners) and trades heavily dependent upon merchants for raw materials (goldsmiths, furriers, brickmakers and most textile trades)

Status was, however, precarious. Shelter was available for *lavoranti* in the bakers' guild, invalidated out of work by accidents, age or illness; but when the four presses of Jacques Le Rouge were quieted for several months in 1473, his twelve workers whose labour cost 45 ducats a month simply starved.⁵⁸ Apparently similar trades had very different fortunes: the statute of the second-hand dealers documents that the trade was being ruined by the entry of boatmen, hawkers "*e altre simele zente de sorte infinita*". The *coltreri* were driven by financial difficulties to merge their *scuola* with that of the *fustagneri* in 1502, whilst from 1446 the mercers' guild was fast incorporating a vast number of trades.⁵⁹

Work was often seasonal, but less so in San Polo than in other parts of the city. In 1460, during a bitter wage disputes, caulkers (who mostly worked in private yards or *squeri* until the 1480's) claimed they faced unemployment in the winter months. The magistrates who supervised the guild, the *Giustizeri Vecchi*, fixed salary levels at 32 *soldi* a day in good weather and 21 *soldi* in the autumn and winter.⁶⁰ But there were no *squeri* in San Polo. Trades such as

58. T.Gasparrini Leporace, 'Nuovi documenti sulla tipografia veneziana del Quattrocento', in *Studi Bibliografici, Atti del Convegno dedicato alla storia del libro italiano nel V centenario dell' introduzione dell'arte tipografica in Italia*, Bolzano 7-8 October 1965, Biblioteca di Bibliografia Italiana, 50, L.Olschki, Firenze (1967), 25-46.

59. BMC, Mariegole, cl.IV, 195, Strazzaroli, cap.60., "*Supplica delli strazzaroli de San Marco e Rialto*"; *Lavoranti di coltre*, petition of 12.2.1502, published in G.Monticolo, *I capitolari*, op.cit., II/II, 581; R.Mackenney, *Traders and Tradesmen*, op.cit., 90-91, 93; *Venice. A Documentary History*, op.cit., 281-285.

60. On *squeri*, *ibid.*, 67-75, 267-78; J.C.Hocquet, 'Squeri e unità mercantili', in *Venezia e il Mare*, op.cit., 340-47; G.Luzzatto, 'Per la storia delle costruzioni navali a Venezia nei secoli XV e XVI', in his *Studi di storia economica veneziana*, CEDAM, Padova, (1954), 38-39.

brickmaking and dyeing, also limited to certain months, were similarly absent. Only potters (*boccaleri*) whose craft had spilled over from Dorsoduro into San Tom  by the early *Quattrocento*, ceased their activities (in December and January).⁶¹

Certain trades gravitated to particular areas of the city; booksellers and printers rapidly clustered within a small radius of the parishes of San Paternian (S.Marco) and the Merceria. Clemente Patavino, the first Italian known to have printed books at Venice, is documented at San Paternian as early as 1473. Gasparo de Zelach, Lodovico Linder and Dominico Bonapartis of Pavia were all booksellers residing there in the following decade; Bernardino Benalio, who at age seventeen had left Bergamo to begin printing at Cagli in the Marches, had a shop "*in Marzaria*" by 1483, and lived nearby in Campo Sant'Angelo. However, it is vital to understand that such high concentrations of trades are not found in San Polo.

Immigrants from Venice's *Stato da Mar*, set apart by their religion and culture, also found themselves gathering in large numbers and forming their own *scuole*. A growing stream of Albanian refugees after the fall of Scutari (1478) was drawn to the parishes of San Mois  and San Maurizio (S.Marco), already populated by their compatriots: for the

61. Arti, b.11, Boccaleri, 1300-1805; T.H.Wilson, 'Maiolica in Renaissance Venice', *Apollo*, CXXV, (1987), 184-89; G.Tassini, *Curiosit  veneziane*, op.cit., entry, 'Squelini', 620-21. Boccaleri were linked with *scudeleri/scuelini*, who made bowls (*scodelle*); In Sabellico's itinerary, San Barnaba (Dorsoduro) is still referred the "area of the potters".

most part mariners, artisans and tavern-keepers.⁶² The Greek Orthodox community, which swelled to around four thousand people by 1500, was spread between San Giovanni in Bragora, San Lorenzo, San Zaccaria and San Salvador.⁶³ The settlement patterns of immigrants from Germany and the Terraferma appear much more dispersed and complex; and they were much thicker on the ground in San Polo.⁶⁴ The whole character of neighbourhood was quite diverse.

The *sestiere* must also be contrasted with the emergence of poorer districts, outside the "body" of the city; a swathe of *contrade* in Cannaregio (San Leonardo, Santa Maria Maddalena, the Ghetto and San Geremia); the outer parishes of the southern fringe of Dorsoduro (S.Nicolò, S.Anzolo Raffael, S.Agnese, San Vio; and the parishes clustering around the Arsenal. The latter have been studied in detail.⁶⁵ Here it is important to stress that the patriciate remained firmly rooted in San Martino, San Ternita and San

62. On the Albanians, see the discussion of P.Thiriet's paper ('Les Communautés Grecque et Albanaise à Venise), especially Signorina Imhaus' comments, in H.G.Beck, M.Manoussacs, A.Pertusi (eds.), *Venezia Centro di Mediazione tra Oriente e Occident*, (Secoli XV-XVI), Aspetti e Problemi, I, (Civiltà Veneziana. Studi 32), Leo S.Olschki, Firenze, (1977), 245. The scuola of the Albanian community was founded in San Severo in 1442, dedicated to San Gallo and San Maurizio. By 1447 it had moved to San Maurizio. In 1497 a meeting-house was built next to the church of San Maurizio: L.Sbriziolo, 'Per la storia delle confraternite veneziane; scolae communes, artigiane e nazionali', art.cit., n.55, 434.

63. On the Greeks, G.Fedalto, 'Stranieri a Venezia e a Padova', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, III/1, op.cit., 499-535.

64. On German immigration: P.Braunstein, 'Appunti per la storia di una minoranza: la popolazione tedesca di Venezia nel Medioevo', in R.Comba, G.Piccinni, G.Pinto (eds.), *Strutture familiari, Epidemie, Migrazioni nell'Italia medievale*, Atti del Convegno internazionale *Problemi di storia demografica nell'Italia medievale*, Nuove Ricerche di Storia II, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, Napoli, (1984), 511-18; on Terraferma immigration: A.Bruni, 'Mobilità sociale e mobilità geografica nella Venezia di fine '500: la parrocchia di San Salvador', *Annali Veneti*, II, (1985), 75-83.

65. E.Crouzet-Pavan, *Sopra le acque salse*, op.cit., II, 741-75 ('La géographie des marges urbaines: Etude d'une dynamique'); E.Concina, *Venezia nell'età moderna*, op.cit., 73-103 ('L'estremo delle contrade: Lo spazio abitativo del popolo minuto'); ibid., *L'Arsenale della Repubblica di Venezia. Tecniche e istituzioni dal medioevo all'età moderna*, Electa, Milano, (1984), 180-83.

Pietro di Castello until the mid-*Cinquecento*, although these areas were characterised by heavy immigration from the last decades of the fifteenth century (mainly Istrians, Dalmatians and Greeks). Only from the late sixteenth century can the parish of San Pietro di Castello be seen as an enclave dominated by *Arsenalotti* and minor artisans. Here, the twenty or so crafts massed within the walls of the Arsenal, the "*liogo si chiama Babilonia*", spilled over into the surrounding parishes. Thus in San Ternità and San Martino, three-quarters of all rents were under nine ducats in 1537. Whereas in San Polo, the proportion only rose above 50% in San Mattio de Rialto and San Stin and was below 40% in the largest parish, San Polo. The neighbourhood ties in this *sestiere* thus unfolded within a very different structure of social relations; furthermore, trade solidarities were only loosely connected with local loyalties.

CHAPTER 3. NOBLES AND *CITTADINI* IN THE *SESTIERE*.

3.1 NOBLE FAMILIES.

From the *estimo* (fiscal survey) of 1379, it has been strongly argued that Venetian noble families were scattered all over the city, in contrast to their urban counterparts in Florence, Genoa and Rome. "Of the 156 patrician families in the *estimo*, 110 had members living in at least two of Venice's six *sestieri*; of these, 68 were represented in three or more *sestieri*. Considering that 34 of the 156 families had only one representative on the list this is a very high degree of dispersion indeed".¹ Evidence from San Polo unequivocally points to the continuity of such residential patterns throughout the later fifteenth century. By examining a number of family histories, I will maintain that these patterns were also extremely varied and complex. Whilst different lines of these families were strewn across this ward, they were often thrown together in adjoining or single parishes as though at random. Particular branches were also associated with one parish over centuries, often through property passed down from generation to generation. The overall impression is intricate and tangled, with little direct comparison possible between noble families.

1. S. Chojnacki, 'In Search of the Venetian Patriciate', art.cit., 60. Nevertheless it should be borne in mind that *sestieri* were not very far apart: for example, both Dorsoduro and San Marco lie only across *Rio della Frescada* and the Grand Canal from San Tomá.

At least forty-one different noble houses can be identified in San Polo from mid-*Quattrocento*. In March 1455, preoccupied by the spread of sodomy, the Council of Ten elected by a slim margin two nobles per parish to hunt down drinking dens (*bastie*) in which many "illegal" and "dishonest" acts were committed. Fourteen nobles were elected for this *sestiere* from twelve different houses: the Balbi, Bragadin, Contarini, Corner, Foscari, Gradenigo, Loredan, Morosini, Priuli, Querini, Zane, and Zorzi. Fifty-four years later the same system was used to compile the census (*a far le description in le contrade di le persone, qualità e condition*). Fifteen different houses were represented, with new names appearing: the Badoer, Capello, Emo, Falier, Moro, Ruzzini and Valaresso.² The heraldic devices of various branches of a further sixteen families, firmly dated to the later fifteenth century, are still visible on walls throughout the *sestiere*: the Basadona, Bembo, Bernardo, Civran, Contarini, Dolfin, Foscari, Grimani, Loredan, Marcello, Minotto, Moro, Paruta, Pisani, Soranzo and Zen.³ Still more names emerge from those elected as *Signóri di Notte* for the *sestiere* (who had to be residents): Bondumier, Da Mosto, Da Mula, Lombardo, Lion, Tagliapietra, Viario and Zantani.⁴

2. See Appendix 1.1: Parte of 23.2. 1455, Dieci, Misti, 15, f.49r-50r, published in G.B.Lorenzi, *Legge e memorie venete sulla prostituzione fino alla caduta della Repubblica*, (For Lord Orford), Venezia, (1870-72), 50; For the 1509 census: Sanudo, *Diarii*, VIII, 356.

3. A.Rizzi, *Scultura esterna a Venezia. Corpus delle Sculture Erratiche all'aperto di Venezia e della sua laguna*, Stamperia di Venezia editrice, Venezia (1987).

4. See Appendix 1.2.

Much more extensive research is required to build up a full picture of these noble families. At present the whole field is bristling with difficulties and in large part unexplored, despite some excellent contributions. Even the most fundamental questions still have to be fully answered such as family size, structure and identity.

Firstly, it must be stressed that the relative wealth and political muscle of patrician families in San Polo is especially difficult to determine. But we can point to figures such as Nicolò Bernardo "*e fratelli*" of San Polo, whose bank was founded in 1430, passing under the direction of the citizen branch of the Garzoni (of S.Cassiano) by the mid-1460's.⁵ Andrea Barbarigo qd Piero nicknamed '*Broca*', from the same parish, was also a banker at Rialto.⁶ Bernardo Balbi qd Alvise "*dal Banco*" resided at Sant'Agostin.⁷ Carlo Morosini qd Silvestro (of San Silvestro) was a partner of

5. Nicolò Bernardo qd Francesco, elected Procurator of San Marco and his brothers Andrea and Polo are mentioned in Sanudo, *Diarii*, II, 391; IV, 304; See also F.Lane, 'Venetian bankers 1496-1533', in *Venice and History: The Collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane*, Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, (1966), 69-86; F.Ferrara, 'I antichi banchi de Venezia', Vol.XVI, *Nuova antologia*, (1871), 191; R.Mueller, '*Quando i banchi No' Ha Fede, La Terra No'ha Credito*'. Bank loans to the Venetian State in the Fifteenth Century', in *Banchi pubblici, banchi privati e monti di pietà nell'Europa preindustriale. Amministrazione, tecniche operative e ruoli economiche*, Atti del convegno 1-6 Ottobre 1990, Genova, (1991), 283; idem., 'I banchi locali a Venezia nel Tardo Medioevo', *Studi Storici*, XXVIII, (1987:1), 145-55.

6. "A 7 de zugno, è sta levà el Banco di Andrea Barbarigo, ditto Broca, sul canton sotto 'l Razo, dove era 'l Banco de Bernardo Ciera e compagni e fu saldò in cao de 14 anni" (1468): D.Malipiero, *Annali veneti*, op.cit., II, 655. His will: AN, Atti Bacinetti, b.152, n.1, (1.3.1486); discussed in R.Mueller, 'Sull'establishment bancario veneziano. Il banchiere davanti a Dio', in G.Borelli (ed.), *Mercanti e vita economica nella repubblica veneta (secoli XII-XVIII)*, I, Banca popolare di Verona, Verona, (1985), 60.

7. M.Barbaro, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, Miscellanea codd., I, Storia Veneta, I, 115; His will is in AN, Notary Bartolomeo Camucis, b.385, n.97, (5.8.1469).

the fabulously wealthy Nicolò Tron, trading with Rhodes, and the future Doge married his sister, Dea.⁸

Federico Corner qd Francesco of Sant'Aponal (b.1415), who inherited a vast property at Battaglia in the Padovano, was a senator by the early age of forty. From 1468 to 1484, he was to combine spells as *podestà* of Vicenza, Crema, Verona and Padua, with two terms as ducal councillor. Francesco also held the vaunted ambassadorship to Rome. In October 1486, he was elected a Procurator of San Marco, ranked only beneath the dogeship.⁹ Francesco Zane qd Nicolò from San Stin also rose to become *Procurator de Ultra* (d.1474). Piero Diedo qd Nicolò of Sant'Agostin (d.1484) was also one of the most distinguished men of his generation, whose accumulation of Terraferma office and impressive diplomatic record, led to his repeated election as *Savio del Consiglio*.¹⁰

The ways in which the nobility experienced the relations between husband and wife, parent and child, how they experienced the constraints and possibilities in their lives remain even more sketchy. Our lack of substantial knowledge about the role and status of patrician women, inheritance, dowries, guardianship and marriage strategies drastically limits the picture presented here. However, through these case studies, I will highlight the difficulties of

8. Information from his will (of 1446) in AN, Notary, A.Benado, b.586, n.6. Carlo, Nicolò and Piero Barozi each appear to invested 2000 ducats. Carlo also mentions a further 500 ducats tied up in a *savoneria* (soap-making plant) at Rhodes. Barozi handled business there ("io Carlo ne tegnìa el libro de qui e tien a Rodi ser Pietro Barozi"). Malipiero notes that Tron amassed his fortune whilst a merchant resident in Rhodes for fifteen years: D.Malipiero, *Annali veneti*, II, 660.

9. On him, see G.Gullino in *DBI*, Vol.XXIX, (1983), 181-183.

10. On him, F.Rossi in *DBI*, Vol.XXXIX, (1991), 779-81.

generalizing about Venetian noble families in terms of fixed models, such as the extended family or interpreting families as if they followed their own logic, a sort of "developmental cycle".

In 1494, Tomà and Francesco Bondumier qd Zuanne divided up their "*palazzo*" where Rio San Tomà flows into the Grand Canal, a house "*in do soleri*" built at the side of another Bondumier property.¹¹ After the death of their father in the early 1470's, they had lived under the same roof with their brothers Bernardo and Alvise in an arrangement known as the *fraterna*, by which they jointly administered the patrimony. These family partnerships were the basic unit of business association in the city.¹² Each was liable for the debts of the others, each could make a contract binding on the others without needing their permission and all the property inherited was entered on the books of the *fraterna*.

Yet by September 1474, Alvise had decided to separate from his brothers for unknown reasons and the partnership was dissolved (Alvise moved to San Vio in Dorsoduro).¹³ The experience of the Santa Maria Formosa branch of the family is similar. Bertucci, Donato, Bernardo and Polo Bondumier were *in fraterna*, forming a company with Marin Corner for

11. The use of the term "*palazzo*" to describe their house is unusual, as it normally was applied only to the Ducal Palace whilst *Ca'* was used instead for private palaces. A *soler* is a main upper floor.

12. Divisions of 24.*.1474 and 14.2 1493 (m.v) in PSM, Ultra b.53. Both are fire-damaged. For *fraterne*: F.Lane. 'Family Partnerships and Joint Ventures', first published in the *Journal of Economic History*, 1944, IV, (1944), 178-96.

13. See Alvise's 1489 will in PSM, Ultra, b.52. Where Bernardo, who died in 1509, subsequently lived is unclear.

two years in 1459, but after a few months Polo had divided from them.¹⁴

Thomá and Francesco kept their share of the property at San Tomá and decided to build together. They shared the cost of apparently adding another storey to the house, begun by their father Zuan in the 1450's.¹⁵ We know this because he was criticized for dumping over 200 barge-loads of earth (*terreno*) into the Grand Canal, used to construct the dam for laying foundations.¹⁶ By mutual agreement, without the fuss ("*strepito*") and loss of face ("*figura*") of a court case the brothers then formally divided the property. Each was allocated a self-contained apartment: an entire upper floor with a mezzanine level (over the kitchen). They shared the courtyard, the servants quarters, laundry, furnace and "*calderia*".

Family structures appear elastic, adapted to circumstances that were often unforeseen. This is especially true of their near neighbours, the Priuli. When Alvise Priuli qd Polo, also of San Tomá died, each of his sons Domenico, Piero, Stefano, Marco and Polo "*atrovarse nui de conveniente età zaschadun de nui ha fato..in modo che zaschadun del suo ho*

14. GdP, Sentenze a Giustizia, 155, 26.7.1471, f.136r-142v.

15. Zuanne di Antonio (b.1417) appears to have spent his youth in navigation and Levantine commerce. He became a galley commander (*sopracomito*) and captain of Negroponte (Khalkis) in 1466, dying here when it fell to the Turks in 1470: F.Thiriet in DBI, II, (1960), 738-9; For his branch of the family: M.Barbaro, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, II, c.110. As the Biblioteca Marciana was shut for over a year during my researches I was unable to compare Barbaro's genealogies with G.A.Cappellari Vivaro, *II Campidoglio veneto*, BNM, Cl.VII, 15 (=8304).

16. G.Pavanello (ed.), Marco Corner. *Scritture sulla laguna in Antichi scrittori d'idraulica veneta*, Vol.I, Venezia, (1919), 151.

fato quel li a parso e piacesto": (Each of us did what he pleased with his share, being of the appropriate age).¹⁷

The house remained undivided until shortly before 1481, when Domenico died. However the family had fragmented. Francesco moved to rented accommodation in the same year that Domenico, aged forty-one, married Veronica Riva (1465)¹⁸. (However, one of his two sons, Alvisè resided in the parish at the time of the Rialto fire).¹⁹ For the following fifteen years, Domenico and his wife lived in a small apartment (*"albergo"/"camera"*) he had renovated within the old Priuli house whilst some of his brothers lived in its shabbier rooms. One was certainly Marco, some twelve years younger but married in 1458 and most likely another was Piero, the youngest of all.²⁰ Polo, at forty, moved out in 1469. However, to have a better understanding of the history of these family structures we need to look to their wider family.

Thomá and Alvisè Bondumier's home was adjacent to a palace that once belonged to their grandfather Antonio and his brother Nicoletto, a house which was divided in 1475. Their great-great-grandfather, Zuanne, appears to have been procurator of the church of San Tomá in 1346, whilst his son

¹⁷ GdP, Sentenze a Giustizia, 10.12.1481, f.24v-26v;

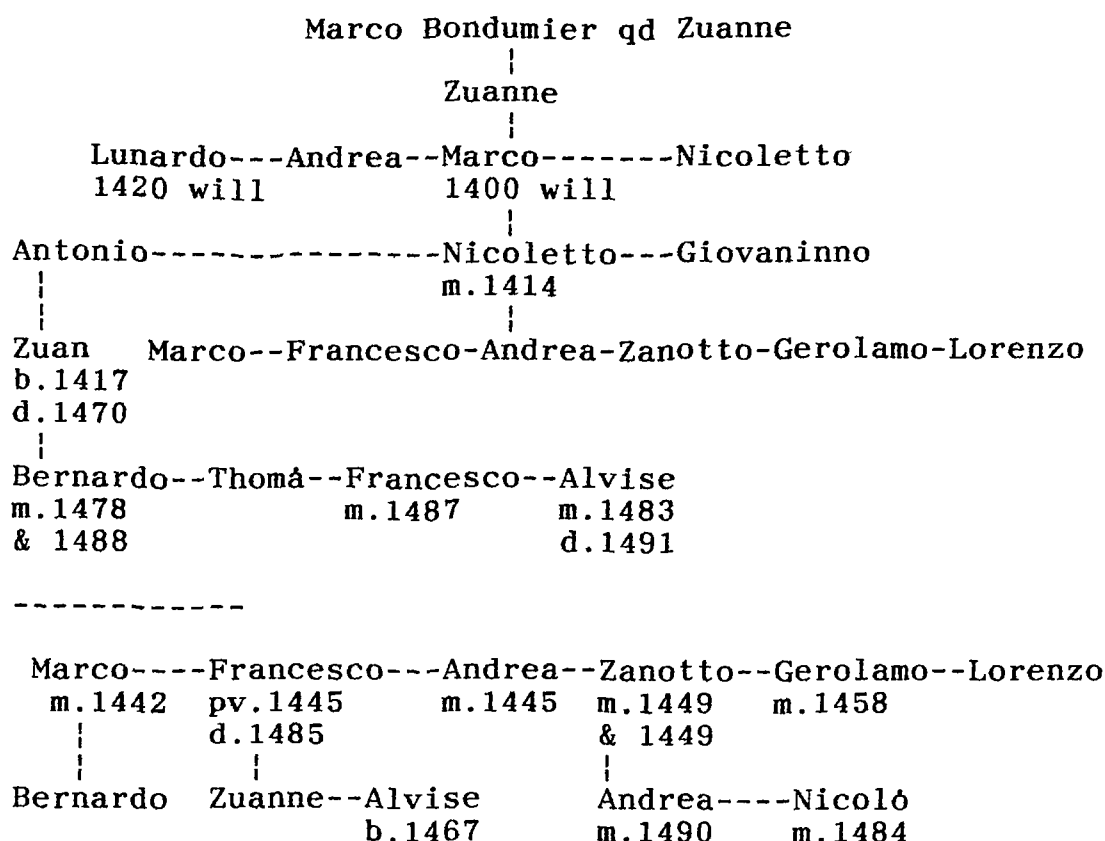
¹⁸ He appears to be the Francesco Priuli qd Alvisè "da San Thomado", nicknamed "Berleffo". A Councillor to the Queen of Cyprus, he was condemned to six months imprisonment for corruption in March 1479 and excluded from all office for three years. M.Sanudo, *Le Vite dei Dogi*, (ed.Aricò), op.cit., f.71r, 142.

¹⁹ Sanudo was staggered that during the fire it took four porters to carry the coins Alvisè recovered from a strong-box in one of his warehouses, *"e altri assa' recuperò"*; Sanudo, *Diarii*, XVII, 467.

²⁰ Piero was not registered for the Balla d'Oro until 1461.

Marco qd Zuanne also drew up his will in the *contrada*.²¹
 Nicoletto was their father's next door neighbour in 1461.²²

FIGURE 3.1 THE BONDUMIER OF SAN TOMA.



 pv=*provato* for the Balla d'Oro

Sources; M.Barbaro, *Arbori de' patritii veneti*, II, c.110;
 PSM, Ultra, b.52; F.Thiriet, 'Zuanne di Antonio Bondumier',
 entry in *DBI*, 11, (1969), 740-41.

21. 5.11.1346, CI, b.114, Notary Marino de San Tomá, protocols 1335-1350, quoted in D.Romano, *Patricians and Popolani*, op.cit., 96 and n.34, p.183. Procurators were entrusted with overseeing church property and wealth. For the will of Marco qd Zuanne, (1400), Notary Bartolomeo de Recovratís: PSM, Ultra, b.52. The same busta contains a *cedola* by the hand of Lunardo Bondumier, also of San Tomá, 20.5.1420, and a successive will drawn up by the notary A.Baffo.

22 The will of Francheschina, wife of Nicolò=Nicoletto Bondimerio (Bondumier) of San Tomá in 1432 also survives: AN, Notary Girolamo de Persecini, b.823, n.83. Nicolò was married for the second time to Francesca fu Lorenzo Tiepolo in 1428: G.Giomo, *Indice per nome di donna dei matrimoni dei patrizi veneti*, II, 389.

Just how many of his six sons lived here is unclear, especially as five were married between 1442 and 1458. Francesco might have done so until his death in 1485, as Barbaro designated him "*de San Tomá*". So might have Marco, especially as he exchanged his half-share of two properties in the parish of San Moisè for part of an upper floor of the family home in 1471. Yet Marco gave his daughter "a part of a part" of the house in dowry. The palace's most probable residents were, however, the families of Zanotto and Gerolamo. Zanotto's son Nicoló was already in his twenties in 1478 and married by 1484. Three years after her marriage to Gerolamo, Clara was resident in the parish.²³ Her husband died sometime in January 1490, but his heir Nicoló remained in the house. Thus brothers, cousins, and first cousins once and twice removed were huddled together at various times in adjacent properties.

However, relations between them were often strained. Both Zanotto and his nephew were up in arms even before a stone had been laid of Thomá and Francesco's extension ("*prima che é sta messa piera*"). Month after month, they sought injunctions against the building work over ancient lights and the smoke from newly installed chimneys.²⁴

Finally, they dragged their neighbours before the Petizion court. They had gone too far for Thomá and Francesco. The suit was denounced as malign, and captious (*cavilloso*),

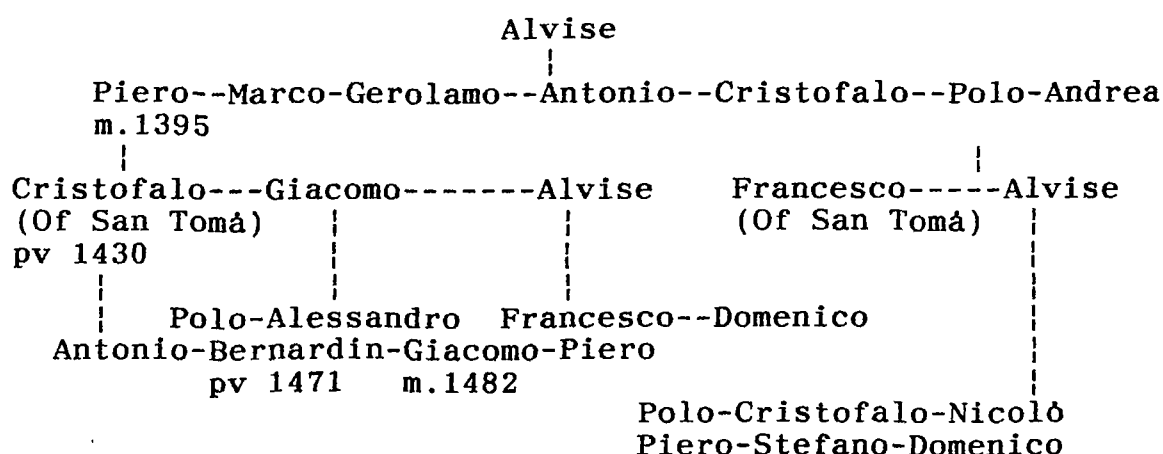
23. Her will of June 1461 in AN, Notary, Valentino della Torre, b.336, 14.

24 For those complaints (*chiamori*) QM, 65, 11.2.1489, f.56v; *ibid.*, 29.2 1491, f.59r; *ibid.*, 2.5.1492, f.64r; 17.2.1491, PSM, Ultra, b.53.

contrived to satisfy an abominable appetite "*de tormentar questi poveri zentilhomeni*". Zanotto was accused of having schemed after Marco's death ("*se ha machinato*") to acquire the share of Marco's daughter, Paula and her husband Zuan de Zanchi, swapping a rental property in San Moisè with their portion.²⁵

Similarly, we can add to our perception of the Priuli family by extending our gaze. When in July 1457, the aged Polisena Priuli, née Pesaro, drew up her will, she may well have lived at San Tomá for over sixty years as both her late husband, Piero and his father, Alvise, were of the *contrada*.²⁶ One of her seven brothers-in-law, Polo, was the grandfather of the Priuli brothers discussed above.

Figure 3.2 THE MALE DESCENDANTS OF ALVISE PRIULI



25. PSM, Ultra b.53, which refers to a case heard by the Proprio court (25.3 1494) and a sentence of by the Procurator judges (27.8.1500).

26. For these Priuli, M.Barbaro, *Arbori*, VI, 234. Polisena di Fantino Pesaro married Piero de Alvise in 1395: G.Giomo, *Indice*, op.cit., II, 219. Her wills of 1461 and 1457 in AN, Notary, G. de Persecinis, b. 823, unbound testaments, ns.146, 150; CI, Notary A. Grasellis, b.99, 28 mentions the will of a Polisena de Priolis (Priuli), widow of Piero of San Tomá, (15.10.1469) by Nicolò Rubei, parish priest of San Lunardo.

Whether her immediate family lived cheek by jowl with their aforementioned Priuli cousins is unclear. One of Polisena's three sons, Giacomo moved to the vast undeveloped parish of San Geremia, right across the city in Cannaregio. Christofalo, however, remained at Sant Tom  up to his death in 1461 and his family was to stay much longer.²⁷ His son, Bernardin, and wife Chiara resided here in 1483. Bernardin was still living in their "*casa grande de statio*" thirty-one years later, with the sons of his late brother Jacomo. Moreover, the deep-seated association of the Priuli with the parish was highlighted by the 1376 wall-tomb of the senator Zuan Priuli dominating the side portal of the church.²⁸ In short, to isolate these Priuli households from the overall framework of their kinship relations is both misleading and distorting.

Rather than insisting upon bracketing the Bondumier and Priuli into rigid models such as extended households, it seems more accurate to stress the variety and fluidity of these family structures. Rare glimpses of inner tensions also warn us against models which are too mechanistic: "To my son Zuanne...I don't want him to have even one penny's worth of mine, because he is cursed by God and all the world and in the eyes of God doesn't deserve a Christian burial

27. Maria, widow of Christoforo Priuli qd Piero had her dowry returned on 1.4.1461 (mv), Vadimoni, 5, f.2v.

28. A.Rizzi, *La scultura esterna*, op.cit., n.320, 394. Francesco and Christoforo Priuli qd Alvise were granted one-half of a house in San Tom  in the will of their brother Piero. When Christoforo died, Francesco inherited his share; 29.1.1480 (mv=1481): Esaminador, Preces, 38, f.74v-75r.

because of his accursed and diabolic life", wrote Marin Capello qd Alvise in his will (1475). Amongst other "*ribalderie*" (villainy) and "*assassinamenti*", Zuanne stole the entire contents of his father's house at San Polo, selling the lot- even the kitchen "*masserie*".²⁹

But underlying this shifting and varied picture, the prevalence of the *fraterna* does stand out. Though *fraterne* were dissolved, they might be seen as a sort of "limiting structure" within which family identity and neighbourhood ties unfolded. These family partnerships represent a distinctive feature of Venetian patrician society and business practice. *Fraterne*, supplemented by short-lived joint-ventures, met the need for flexible business structures. Merchant capital was kept liquid and could be moved rapidly from one branch of trade to another as new conditions arose.³⁰

The existence of several lines of one family in adjoining properties within a parish was also part of a more complex pattern of settlement of individual noble houses, as the case of the Querini and Contarini demonstrate.

Several branches of the Querini family resided in the same and also in neighbouring parishes. These branches have been comparatively ignored because of the richer sources

²⁹ 31.5 1475 will of Marin Cappello qd Lodovico, "*de confinio s.Hermacore e Fortuna*" (S.Marcuola: Cannaregio), AN, Notary Girolamo Bonicardi, b.69, n.4 (also b.68, 217). Cf. G. Levi, *L'Eredità Immateriale. Carriera di Un Esorcista nel Piemonte del Seicento*, Microstorie, Einaudi, Torino, (1985) trans. L. Cochrane as *Inheriting Power: The Story of an Exorcist*, Chicago, (1988), chapter 2 passim; 30. Conversely, in Florence and Genoa, the use of general business partnerships designed to live independent of family ties for many years and embryonic forms of joint-stock companies were spreading.

available in the Biblioteca Querini-Stampalia on their relatives in Santa Maria Formosa, such as the household account book ("*libro cassa*") of Nicolò Querini beginning in 1480.³¹

At least three lines of the Querini resided at San Tomá. When the elderly Polo Querini qd Marcho and his daughter-in-law Gradeniga (née Gradenigo) summoned the notary Felippo Trioli in 1466 to draw up their wills, both were living far apart, she at the tip of Dorsoduro at San Gregorio and he at San Tomá.³² Polo had only son, Nicolò, and he mentions only one daughter Adrianna, "*amatissima*", in his testament. She was married to Zuan Paruta and no evidence suggests they lived with her father.

Carlo Querini qd Michele and his wife Daria also lived in the *contrada*.³³ Carlo, however, requested to be buried at Camposampiero. His father had taken advantage of the sequestration of Carrarese lands and bought at auction the Paduan *gastaldaria* of Camposampiero for 18525 *lire*, obtaining the necessary loan in December 1417. Carlo, together with his brother Zuanne, purchased an additional 100 *campi* (fields) there in 1427 ("*in villa de Loriogola*"). Fourteen years later, Zuanne made a further investment of 1400 *lire* (*di piccoli*) in marsh and woodland in Loreggia and

31. *Archivio privato della famiglia Querini-Stampalia. Inventario* (eds. D.Viola, C.Venturini, R.Zago), Fondazione Querini-Stampalia, Venezia, (1987), b.4, 26.

32. Testament of Polo Querini qd Marco, 17.10. 1466, AN, Notary F.Trioli, b.974, n.49; *ibid*, n.50. Unbound testament of Gradeniga, wife of Nicolò qd Polo. A Querina Querini, wife of a Polo of San Tomá also drew up her will there in 1438.

33. Will of Carlo Querini qd Michele, AN, Notary B.Ognibene, b.1149, unbound testaments, 8 and 78. Daria, wife of Carlo Querini, 26.3. 1450, AN, Notary, A.Benado, b.586, unbound testament, n.71. His mother, Chiara, also lived here; her will of 10.10. 1456, AN, Notary F.Grassi, b.531, n.51.

Fratta, part of the widespread Venetian investment in land that led Paduans to complain in 1446 that one-third of taxable wealth had fallen into Venetian hands.³⁴ We cannot dismiss the possibility that they may have regularly lived there. Moreover, Carlo was one of four brothers, three of whom married in 1428; this raises serious doubts as to whether all could have remained at San Tomá. The aforementioned Zuanne can probably be identified with the Johannes Querini elected in the Council of Ten's 1455 drive against sodomy. His son Nicolò certainly resided here in 1482.³⁵

The third line, the heirs of Smerio qd Baldo resided in an area assigned to both the parish of San Tomá and San Polo. Baldo qd Smerio Querini was inscribed on the 1379 *estimo* in San Polo for 4000 ducats, two thousand less than Polo qd Marco in San Tomá. Maria, his son's widow, died intestate in San Polo in 1460. ³⁶ His sons Gerolamo, Marco, Aldo and Antonio are all cited in property disputes here in 1476 and 1487.³⁷

From my research there also appear to have been three further lines of the Querini family in San Polo, two with adjoining properties in the courtyard of a "*cha Querini*"; Tadio, Cabriel and Zanotto qd Francesco (qd Zanicchi) are

34. V. Lazzarini, 'Beni carrarese e proprietari veneziani', in *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzato*, Giuffrè, Milano, (1950), vol.1, 274-88.

35. M.Sanudo, *Le Vite dei Dogi*, ed.Aricò op.cit., f.142v, 271: ('sier Nicolò Querini qd Zuane da San Thomado')

36. Cf. the "*sepultura filiorum*" of Smerio Querini qd Baldo also married to a Maria, in the church of the Madonna dell'Orto, E.Cicogna, *Delle Inscrizioni Vene ziane*, vol II, 103, 337 (24.3.1473).

37 QM, 60, f.13r; 27.10.1487, QM, 71 f.51r.

all documented here in the early 1480's, but not their other brothers Lunardo, Alvise and Gerolamo. The last died at San Canciano (Cannaregio) in 1510.³⁸ In the immediate vicinity was Francesco qd Gerolamo from another line.³⁹ However ownership and residence are not necessarily synonymous. Additionally, the genealogist Marco Barbaro describes the heirs of Francesco qd Piero, (Nicolò, Marco, Antonio and Piero) as sons of the founder of the Querini "*de San Polo*".⁴⁰ Documents also survive for a Samaritana, wife of a Girolamo of San Polo (in February 1462) and for a Vettor Querini who died intestate at San Polo in 1484.

The various lines of the huge, sprawling Contarini family in the *sestiere* are even more difficult to unravel. In Sant'Agostin alone we can identify in 1449 a Francesco Contarini qd Piero, and in the 1460's Lunardo Contarini qd Carlo from separate branches.⁴¹ Agnexina, widow of Francesco qd Redolfi, who drew up her testament in 1494, was from yet another line. In the adjacent parish of San Stin (San Stefano Confessore) documented from the 1460's are Zaccaria Contarini qd Alvise (1468), his son Andrea "*Scacchi*" and grandsons Alvise "*Caschi*", Vincenzo and granddaughters

38. This Alvise was the Alvise Querini qd Francesco condemned by the Council of Ten on October 1 1477 for corruption whilst *rettore* of Rovereto, see M.Knapton, 'La Condanna Penale', art.cit. Also M.Barbaro, *Arbori*, op.cit., 22, 342.

39. Gerolamo qd Baldo complained about building-work by Alvise qd Piero Querini QM, 53, 26.5 1476, f.56r.

40. Barbaro, VI c.323.

41. For his epitaph, see E.Cicogna, *Delle Inscrizioni Veneziane*, op.cit., III, Sant'Agostin, n.21, 20. A Giovanni di Marc'Antonio di Alvise of Sant'Agostin, b.1471 appears in DBI, vol.28, 204-6, (A.Baiocchi).

Francheschina and Cecilia.⁴² Across the *sestiere*, at San Tomá, the Procurator Nadalin Contarini lived on the Grand Canal until his death in 1459, but Riccardo Predelli identified another possible family residence close to *Calle dei Saoneri* and *Calle Centani*. Here too, in 1461 we come across a Fantina, widow of Domenico Contarini. In San Silvestro, the situation is even more complicated, not least because of the many shops and warehouses owned by non-resident members of the family.

Yet it is quite possible to find only one branch of a family in a parish, or indeed in the whole *sestiere*. Ruggero and Piero Ruzzini qd Francesco lived *in fraterna* on the Grand Canal at the mouth of Rio Sant'Aponal with Ruggero's sons Thomá, Francesco and Domenico until just before 1485, when Ruggero died.⁴³ Piero was gravely ill when he drew up his will in the following October. Maria, Ruggero's widow stayed with her daughter Isabella and her sons, who continued to hold this property jointly in 1514.⁴⁴ To the best of my knowledge, there were no other Ruzzini in the *sestiere*. The Emo also had a palace on the Grand Canal at Sant'Aponal. Bertucci and Giacomo fu Benetto in the early 1450's lived there, apparently *in fraterna*. Giacomo died

42. DBI, vol. 28, Alvise da Andrea Contarini "*da San Stino*", b.1443, 74-76, (A.Baiocchi);

43. Will of Maria daughter of Andrea Bernardo and wife of Ruggero Ruzzini, 20.11.1453, (they were married in 1452, see M.Barbari, *Arbori*, XXVII, 487. For the location of their palace, 11.5.1480, Collegio, Notatorio, 12, f.123v. The "*domo Petri e Rugerii Ruzzini*" is mentioned in the will of Victor qd Georgii de Stulus, a sailor from Albania in A.Grassellis, 19.5.1480, b.508, 233. For Isabella, 2.3. 1489, CI, Notary. A.Grassellis, b.99, n.214, f.68r. For the house of Francesco Ruzzini "and brothers", 8.2 1491, *ibid*, n.250, f.72v. Maria was still alive in 1493, *ibid*, n.263, f.77r.

44. Bertucci's will in AN, Notary A.Savina, b.1237, 21. His wife's in Att P.Graselli, 348. Elena's wills, 9.10.1452 in Atti Benedetto, 1142, 249; 28.4 1455 in P.Grassellis, b.565, 348;

heirless in 1459. His widow, Elena (Lena) lived in his house for at least the following nine years, with Bertucci's growing family. His son Benetto and grandson Bertucci (de Giacomo) were still there four decades later.⁴⁵ No other Emo were in the parish and I have only come across a Lunardo Emo elsewhere in the *sestiere*. He owned property at nearby San Silvestro. We can also identify branches which became extinct; when the Procurator Federico Corner qd Francesco of Sant'Aponal (detto "*Collo Storto*") died in 1504, his male line died out.⁴⁶

No clear pattern emerges from which compare one family to another; as Renzo Derosas has suggested we ought to see the patriciate as a "system" of very different families.⁴⁷ Moreover, the sense of family seems to have had several dimensions.⁴⁸ Marin Capello qd Alvise limited inheritance of his palace at San Polo to "*nostro colonda*" ("our line/branch"), yet he also expressed solidarity with the family as a whole, referring to the "*corte de Cha Capello*" there. Attachment to the *Ca'* was expressed in family tombs and chapels, even in a rug decorated with the family arms which Andrea da Molin left to the convent of Santa Maria

45. Will of Elena Emo, 19.12.1468, AN, Notary A.Grassellis, b.508, 87; DS, 1514, b.17, S.Aponal, return of Benedetto fo Iachomo fo Bertucci, 35.

46. See the will of his wife, Chataruzza: 11.6.1478 in AN, Notary A.Grassellis, b.508, n.35; also the will of his brother Andrea, with whom he shared their house, AN, Notary G.Bonicardi, 68, n.32, (10.7.1478); an instrument for the printer Boninis de Boninis de Ragusa was also drawn up in "the house of Andrea and Federico Corner", 4.7.1479, CI, Notary A.Grassellis, b.99, 94, f.23r; *ibid*, 5.4.1478, n.84, f.21r.

47. R.Derosas, 'La crisi del patriziato come crisi del sistema familiare: i Foscari ai Carmini nel secondo Settecento', in *Studi veneti offerti a Gaetano Cozzi*, op.cit., 311.

48. For a similar approach, see A.Valori, 'Famiglia e memoria. Luca da Panzano dal suo «Libro di Ricordi»: uno studio sulle relazioni familiari nelle specchio della scrittura', *Archivio storico italiano*, Anno CLII, Disp.II, (1994), 261-298

della Celestia.⁴⁹ But the enduring force of the *fraterna* amongst these families underlined a sense of lineage in which only the male chain of descent mattered. This could only have been strengthened by the increasingly restrictive legislation defining patrician status. Furthermore, because the legal ties of the *fraterna* extended to the second generation, several households of the same line were locked together. This infers the practical strength of a narrow range of kinship ties beyond the nuclear family.

At any given moment these loyalties could be presented as sets of allegiances that overlapped as in a Venn diagram. But studies of the patrician merchants Andrea Barbarigo and Guglielmo Querini, based on their account books, have shown that kinship ties shifted as circumstances changed and that they formed part of a complex and fluctuating web of allegiance.⁵⁰ In his early years, Andrea was reliant on ties with his distant Cretan relatives, his friendship with the banker Francesco Balbi and his London correspondents Vettor, Alban and Zuan Capello (into whose family he married in 1439). Those ties were increasingly set aside in the following decade. Barbarigo is also interesting in that he ran his affairs quite separately from his brother Zuan. On the other hand, Guglielmo Querini headed a "*compagnia familiare*" with his brothers Bartolomeo and Taddeo, resident

49. For example, Gerolamo Barbaro qd Antonio of San Polo wanted to be buried in the "archa de Cha Barbaro" at the convent of Santa Maria della Celestia, 15.1.1478mv (=1479), AN, Notary, G.Bonicardi, b.68, 178.

50. P.Lane, *Andrea Barbarigo*, op.cit., 22-30, 114ff; G.Luzzatto, 'L'attività commerciale di un patrizio veneziano del Quattrocento', *Rivista di Storia Economica*, VIII, (1943), 1-22; re-edited in his *Studi di Storia Economica veneziana*, CEDAM, Padova, (1954), 167-93.

at Trebizond and Constantinople. When they died in 1435, his wide range of contracts were suddenly contracted, picking up only after 1452. But for this *sestiere*, no ledgers and account-books permitting such detailed biographies have come to light.

Much attention has been focused on marriage strategies and dowries. Legislation curbing dowry levels, and frequent bequests of marriage portions to poor *donzelle* strongly indicate the increasing importance of dowries as indices of social status. It is argued that dowries probably absorbed a larger portion of the patrimony than they had earlier.⁵¹ The realities of dynastic planning appear to have left little room for individual choice. Francesco Barbaro's humanist treatise *De Re uxoria* (On Marriage), written in 1415, denounced the widespread censure attached to the possibility of love-matches amongst the upper reaches of society. The morality that condemned these marriages as dangerous and extravagant reveals that marriage alliances bulked extremely large in family strategies.⁵² This issue will be taken up in the context of the following case-study.

3.2. THE ZANE FAMILY

As a final example of noble family with branches in San Polo, let us look at the extensive "*Cha Zane*". The Zane were one of the twenty-four *case vecchie*, who claimed descent from the tribunes who ruled before the creation of

51. S.Chojnacki, 'Dowries and kinsmen in Early Renaissance Venice', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, IV, (1975), 571-600.

52. On this work: M.King, *Venetian Humanism*, op.cit., 92-98; G.Cozzi, M.Knapton, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia: Dalla guerra di Chioggia al 1517*, op.cit., 118-19.

the doges. Marco Barbaro isolated at least twelve discrete branches of the Zane in the fifteenth century, identifying two in San Polo, both from the same parish: San Stin.⁵³

As we would expect, the Zane were scattered all over the city. A number of family nuclei can be identified at Santa Maria Mater Domini (Santa Croce). One of these residences was undoubtedly Ca'Zane, a Veneto-Bzantine palace dominating the *campo* (n.a 2174-75), clearly visible in de'Barbari's view. Sanudo recorded in November 1501 that Zuan, a mason working at "*cha Zane a Santa Maria Mater Domini*" and his pregnant wife were beaten up and then tortured by a *Signor di Notte* (Sanudo lived only a few hundred yards away and it seems this incident was the talk of the *contrada*).⁵⁴ He also mentions an Antonio qd Domenico resident in the parish, whose grandfather and namesake wrote his will here (1433). So did Domenico. Both testaments are conserved amongst the papers of the Procurators of San Marco.⁵⁵ Marco Barbaro additionally identified an entire branch of the family in the *contrada*: the heirs of Lunardo de Lorenzo.⁵⁶ Here too were the more obscure households of Antonio Zane and Lorenzo qd Tomá husband of Caterina Doná and their sons Almorò, Tomá and Alessandro. Other family nuclei can be charted at Sant'Angelo in San Marco (a

53. On Marco Barbaro and his work, A. Ventura in *DBI*, VI, (1964), 112-113; E. Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, op.cit., VI, 21-26; For the San Stin branches, XXXII, 326, 328.

54. Sanudo's home was on the Fondamenta del Megio, bordering the *contrada* of San Zuan Degolá. See G.Berchet, 'Introduzione' to the first volume of his *Diarii*, 50.

55. PSM, Ultra, b.315 commissaria (estate) of Antonio qd Domenico. Will 1433, Notary Nicoló Venier, and 1441 copy by Nicoló de Curso; commissaria of Domenico qd Antonio, will 21.8.1464, Notary Basilius Baffo.

56. M.Barbaro., Vol., XXXII, 330.

Ca'Zane), San Giobbe and Santa Giustina (Cannaregio). However as only 44 Zane wills have been catalogued in the State Archives for the period 1443-1507 this is by no means comprehensive. (Women's wills account for nearly eighty per cent of this total, a fact that might be partly attributed to their drawing up wills during pregnancy and also to larger dowries).⁵⁷

In 1490 before the Procurator's court, Marin and Francesco qd Nicolò of San Stin expressed this consciousness of belonging to a precise branch by tracing back the "*colomello*", the direct male line "*de heredibus in heredibus*", stretching from their great uncle Andrea qd Almorò.⁵⁸ As beneficiaries of the 1348 will of his father, they and Girolamo qd Bernardo of San Polo, (another great-great-grandson of Almorò) claimed their share of "*per la mancanza di esso colomello*", (as that collateral branch had died out), producing a genealogical tree in court.⁵⁹ Although their identity was implicitly focused on their line, they were prepared to exploit the link of a distant common ancestor. Here different dimensions of family solidarity intersected.

⁵⁷ Cf. S. Chojnacki, 'Patrician Women in Early Renaissance Venice', *Studies in the Renaissance*, XXI (1974) 197. He notes that women accounted for 71.7% of 120 Morosini wills in 1411-1450.

⁵⁸ This term *colomello* or *colonello* refers to the patriline or a collateral branch (a "*stipite domestico*" o "*ramo distaccato dal ceppo*"): S.Bortolami, 'Colmellum, Colonellum. Realtà sociale, e Dinamismo Territoriale Dietro un Fossile del Vocabolario Medievale nel Veneto', in M.Knapton, G.Ortalli (eds.), *Istituzioni, Società e Potere nella Marca Trevigiana e Veronese (secoli XIII-XIV)*. Sulle Tracce di G.B.Verci, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, Roma, (1988), 221-34. The term was also applied to subdivisions within guilds.

⁵⁹ 18.3.1490, BMC, Mss Zane., Pdc, 1134/5; see also 1134/3, another sentence of the Procurators for Girolamo qd Marin, 27.4.1485. Almorò's will (28.6.1348) in *ibid.*, Pdc. 1157/4.

left the *contrada*, but only to settle in the neighbouring parish of San Tomá.

In June 1310, Almoró's son, Andrea (of Sant'Angelo) was accorded permission to build a bridge across Rio Sant'Agostin from Ca' Zane to a piece of open ground that once belonged to Baiamonte Tiepolo, "the vilest of traitors".⁶⁰ In fact only six months had passed since the botched Querini-Tiepolo conspiracy to overthrow the regime (June 1310) and the decision to raze their palaces, marked in Sant'Agostin by a pillar, the "*colonna d'infamia*".⁶¹ (The Tiepolo palace stood in Campiello del Remer).⁶² One hundred and fifty years later, the Zane appear to have been living in the same palace. The Collegio was petitioned to order the dredging of Rio Sant' Agostin from the residence ("*habitationis*") of Francesco and Marco Zane to that of Zaccaria Contarini (October 1461).⁶³ Marco's youngest son Bernardo died intestate, but several references show his sons (Francesco and Gerolamo) continued to reside at San Stin. The apparently continual attachment to San Stin of this branch as well, the "*colomello*" of Andrea suggests

60. Copies of the sale in BMC, Mss. Zane., PdC 1101/5, c.1164/2. See also E.Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, op.cit, vol III, "S.Agostin", n.27, 'Baiamonte Tiepolo', 28ff, esp. 36.

61. The inscription read "De Baiamonte fo questo terreno/ E mo per lo so iniquo tradimento/ S'è posto in chomun per altrui spavento/ e per mostrar a tuti sempre seno, (1364): G.Tassini, *Curiosità Veneziane*, IX edition, Filippi Editore, Venezia (1988), orig. Tip. Cecchini, Venezia, (1863), entry 'Campiello del Remér, S.Agostino', 543.

62. The Tiepolo palace roughly covered the site of the warehouses n.a. 1996, 1997 and a garden, (n.a.1995). The Zane palace is not to be confused with the seventeenth century Ca'Zane also in the parish along Rio Sant'Agostin. Although an earlier fourteenth century building was rebuilt, it was only inherited by the Zane in 1628 (from the Giustiniani): *Itinerari Veneziani*. San Polo, Comune de Venezia, Servizi educativi, Scheda n.19 (B.Rosada).

63. Collegio, Notatorio, 10, f.45v, (8.10.1461).

there must have been close contact between these collateral branches of the family.

The Zane were also present elsewhere in the *sestiere*, at San Polo. Gerolamo qd Bernardo (not to be confused with his namesake from San Stin), his wife Maria and children Bernardo, Francesco, Isabeta, Clara and Lucia all lived here in 1479. The arms of the Zane family (dated to the end of the century) also appear in the parish - along Fondamente de l'Erbe (n.a 1999).⁶⁴

"With tears in their eyes", the orphaned Francesco and Gerolamo de Bernardo informed the Petizion judges that the debts of their uncle, Andrea qd Marco, threatened to bleed them dry.⁶⁵ The cause of their indebtedness and "cruel misfortune" was the legacy of his daughters' dowries. Andrea had been *in fraterna* with their father, thus making them liable for any debts whatsoever after his death. Andrea attached such significance to "*el maridar de sue fie*" that he spent 8000 ducats on their dowries.

Both marriages were negotiated through noble brokers, Domenico Gradenigo fu Jacomo and Fantin Zen. Marietta wed Alvise Dandolo fo Jacomo in 1476 with a dowry of 4000 ducats, 3400 in cash and the rest in goods.⁶⁶ The choice of the Dandolo may have been influenced by existing alliances:

64. A.Rizzi, *Scultura esterna a Venezia*, op.cit., n.216, 368.

65. Copy of a Petizion case between Francesco and Gerolamo qd Bernardo against the chief creditors of their uncle Andrea qd Marco Correr, 5.12. 1488, BMC, Mss.Zane PdC, 1152/1, f.3r. Cf 7.8.1489, *ibid*, 1152/2.

66. See the marriage contract of Marietta with Alvise Dandolo, copied in BMC, Mss.Zane, Pdc 1104/1; See M.Barbaro, *Arbori*, XXXII, 326; Cecilia m. Lunardo qd Piero Dandolo (of San Polo), G.Giomo, *Indice*, op.cit., II, 487; Lunardo de Lorenzo, m.Suoradamor qd Andrea, see M.Barbaro, *Arbori*, *ibid*., 330;

Cecilia and her brother Polo de Marin qd Nicolò (of the other San Stin branch) and Lunardo de Lorenzo had all married into Ca'Dandolo. Some six years later, when Andrea was 84 years old, the wedding of Zanetta took place: to another Zane, Gerolamo de Bortolo.⁶⁷ The cementing of links within the Zane family was not unique. Maria di Maffeo di Zanin married Giacomo qd Lunardo of Santa Maria Mater Domini in 1441. At the very least these alliances "reveal how the "ties of marriage could intersect-and even supplant-those of lineage".⁶⁸

If we examine marriage strategies at the level of the entire family, we find that in the second half of the century, Zane spouses came from at least twenty-five patrician houses.⁶⁹ This network of associations closely resembles those of other patrician houses studied. In the first half of the *quattrocento*, the Morosini contracted 240 marriages with 70 different noble houses; the Da Canal entered into 40 marriages with 29 families.⁷⁰

There is no evidence to suggest that the Zane sought marriage partners from their neighbours in San Polo. Bernardin de Nicolò Zane married Teodosia, daughter of Bartolomeo Lambardo qd Marco of San Tomà (1479), but he came

67. G.Giomo, *Indice*, op.cit., II, 490.

68. S.Chojnacki, 'Kinship Ties and Young Patricians in Fifteenth-Century Venice', *Renaissance Quarterly*, XXXVIII, (1985:2), 260.

69. The Baffo, Bembo (3 separate marriages), Capello, Cicogna, Condulmer, Contarini (5), Corner, Dalle Boccole, Da Mosto, Dandolo (4), Donà, Emo, Giustinian, Gritti (3), Lambardo (2), Loredan, Malipiero (3), Memmo, Michiel, Minotto, Morosini (4), Muazzo, Priuli, Trevisan and Zorzi.

70. S.Chojnacki, 'Patrician women', art.cit., 203. See also B.Betto, 'Linee di politica matrimoniale nella nobiltà veneziana fino al secolo XV. Alcune note genealogiche e l'esempio della famiglia Mocenigo', *Archivio storico italiano*, CXXXIX, (1981), 3-64., esp. 53 (26 Mocenigo women married into 21 different families, whilst the 30 Mocenigo men allied with 19 families).

from a branch resident outside the district.⁷¹ Similarly, Francesco de Giacomo, whose *contrada* is unknown, married Michela Michiel of Maffio qd Fantin (*detto sarza*), whose father owned the palace before the *tragetto* at San Tomà (see page 36). The case of the Zane does not contradict the argument put forward by other scholars, namely that dowry inflation "was accompanied naturally enough by a rise in the alliance dimension of marriage ties".⁷²

Though it is possible to see patrician families as bound together by deeply knotted kinship networks, statistics cannot reveal the quality of those relationships. In Italo Calvino's imaginary city Ersilia, the inhabitants stretch strings between their houses to represent relationships such as kinship, trade and authority. However, when the strings become too numerous to pass through the inhabitants leave. The danger is clear: the more we concentrate on the intricate web, the more the inhabitants are left out.⁷³

For the Zane of San Stin, marriage and economic ties meshed. In her will, Ingoldise Morosini (née Zane) left her granddaughter a thousand ducats (1431).⁷⁴ Maria was married to the future Procurator, Marco qd Andrea Zane. From 1453, their sons were partners of her brother Girolamo in the wood-business, employing local agents to float pine

71. The will of Bartolomeo Lambardo (1468) is in IRE, Derelitti, commissarie 208 (ex busta IV), along with a series of property disputes resulting from this marriage.

72. S. Chojnacki, 'Patrician women', art.cit., 202.

73. I. Calvino, *Le città invisibili*, op.cit., 82.

74. For a detailed discussion of this branch of the Morosini: R. Targhetta, 'Appunti su una famiglia patrizia veneziana: I Morosini detti da Bassano. Secoli XV-XVIII', AV, CXXXIV, (1990), 45-66.

downriver from Primarolo (in the Valsugana).⁷⁵ They also inherited a woodyard "*ai Crosecchieri*" in Santi Apostoli from the estate of another brother (Zuan fu Piero).⁷⁶

The strength of the Zane's ties with their in-laws was uncovered in a conspiracy to leak secrets to the curia (July 1478): the plot was orchestrated by Lorenzo, Bishop of Brescia who had bribed his brother-in-law, Alvisè Loredan qd Marin (a powerful ducal councillor) and Giacomo Malipiero. Despite his notoriety, Lorenzo was even harboured by his in-laws when he secretly returned to Venice.⁷⁷

The economic and political standing of the San Polo branches of the family were undoubtedly solid but the few records which remain allow us only a partial view. It is clear that according to the best traditions of the Venetian patriciate, Gerolamo, brother of the aforementioned Bernardo obtained first-hand experience at an early age of mercantile activities. He served as a *balestriere* on the Barbary

75. For their involvement in this trade, see E. Concina, 'Alpi e Rinascimento', in *Titianus Cadorinus. Celebrazioni in onore di Tiziano*. Pieve di Cadore 1576-1976, Cassa di Risparmio di Verona, Vicenza e Belluno, (1982), 61-78; idem., *L'Arsenale della Repubblica di Venezia. Tecniche e istituzioni dal medioevo all'età moderna*, Electa, Milano, (1984), 74; P. Braunstein, 'De la montagne à Venise: les Réseaux de Bois au XV Siècle', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome, Moyen Ages-Temps Modernes*, 100, n.2, (1988), 766-799.

76. The site was leased from the convent on the waterfront marking the northern edge of Cannaregio which gave its name to the district: See BMC, Mss Zane, Pdc. 1102/1: Tax return for the Decima of 1463; Pdc.1102/4 for the tax return of Girolamo and Bernardo Zane for the Redecima of 1514, (copy); original in DS, 1514, San Stin, b.70, n.1; also Pdc.1148/5, 1.3.1465, 14.4.1464, 3.6.1466, for Andrea and Bernardo Zane against Marina Querini, widow of Zuan Moresini;

77. Malipiero was Lando's brother-in-law. On the scandal, see Dieci, Misti, 19, f.124v-125r, 28.8.1478; *ibid.*, f.126r, 31.8.1478; *ibid.*, f.130r, 131r for sentences; M. Sanudo, *Le Vite dei Dogi*, ed. Aricò, *op.cit.*, f.61v-62v, 128-130; also D. Malipiero, *Annali veneti*, *op.cit.*, 668-70; D. Queller, *The Venetian Patriciate*, *op.cit.*, 214-15. For a profile of Vitale Lando: M. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*, *op.cit.*, 385

galleys in 1450.⁷⁸ This "*viazo*", established in 1436, called at Tripoli, Tunis and other ports along the North African coast via Syracuse, before moving on to Granada and Catalonia (Valencia and Tortosa). Gerolamo qd Bernardo, from San Polo, also applied for the privilege in the same year. Whether these men then dedicated themselves to commerce is unknown, as indeed is the whole question of the family's involvement in trade after 1450. We are left with tantalizing glimpses; Francesco fu Bernardo of San Stin is described in Sanudo's Diaries as an "*armatore*" and "*padrone*" (galley master) of the Beirut galleys;⁷⁹ Alvise Zane of San Tomà put out wollen yarn for spinning in Treviso through his agent Johannes a Porta and also employed a number of other masters ("*magistris lane*"), presumably weavers who generally had small independent shops.⁸⁰

Political careers are only slightly better documented. After-mid century, Francesco qd Nicolò of San Stin was frequently elected to high office. Within a decade, he held the post of ducal councillor three times (1453-1463). Elected *podestà* of Verona in 1461, he was made a Procurator of San Marco in June 1462. His name occurs regularly on lists of the various *zonte* (additional committees) of the Council of Ten until his death in 1474.⁸¹ His cousin from

78. Avogaria di Commun, Prove di Eta, r.178/2, f.73r. Gerolamo qd Andrea Zane also went as a noble bowman in the same year, f.106v; on the Barbary voyage, L.Greco, 'Sulle Rotte delle galere veneziane', art.cit., passim.

79. Sanudo, *Diarii*, III, 159, 222, 330, 447.

80. See his testament, 7.4.1485, AN, Notary, G.Bonicardi, b.69, 115; also AN, Notary, A.Savina, b.1237, 168.

81. Ducal Councillor: Collegio, Notatorio, 9, f.6v (10.7.1453); *ibid.*, 10, f.38r, (18.9.1461), f.39v, 3.10.1461, f.50v, 20.1.1461 (mv=1461); On *zonte* of the Ten: Dieci, Misti, 17, f.118v, (15.6.1469),

the same parish, Marco qd Andrea was equally prominent. A ducal councillor in 1460, he became *podestà* of Padua in 1465 and then Procurator. Andrea, his son, was elected a Grain Commissioner in 1479. Whilst in his mid-thirties, Francesco's son, Marin was already responsible for the *dazio del vin* (wine excise).⁸²

3.4. CITTADINI FAMILIES.

Close examination of several cittadini families in San Polo reveals an emergent order. Although later identified as an office-holding class, in this period *cittadino* status in San Polo was closely bound up with mercantile activities. The activity of priest-notaries over many years here, in Sant'Aponal, San Polo and more sporadically throughout the *sestiere*, however does enable us to provide very rich and detailed information on some of those families, as indeed do *Scuole* records. However, most information tends to be scattered over a number of sources.

In the parish of Sant'Aponal alone, there were at least thirty-two different *cittadini* families, most of whom simply appear as witnesses to wills or are mentioned in property transactions or *scuole* registers.⁸³ Domenico da Monte and his son Alvise were described as jewellers; so were Thomà and Zuan Belon. Antonio and Bernardin di Mazi were spicers; Andreas de Gandolfis was a wool merchant.

f.134v, 11.2.1470 (mv=1471), f.162v, (30.3.1471), f.219v, September 1472; *ibid.*, 18, f.56v, (8.3.1473), f.81r, (20.10.1473); D.Malipiero, *Annali veneti*, op.cit., II, 664 reports his death on 25.10.1474. (n.b. R.5 and 6 of *Segretario alle Voci* do not list offices in Venice between 1455 and 1465).

82. *Segretario alle Voci*, 6, f.8r (March 1479), f.54r, 7.1.1469 (mv=1470).

83. See Appendix 3.

Emblazoned on the magnificent mid-fifteenth century portal dominating the courtyard that still bears their name in the *contrada* of Sant'Aponal, are the arms of the Petriani family.⁸⁴

The Petriani put down roots in the parish in the last years of the fourteenth century, documented by a citizenship grant of May 1396 to an Antonio Petriani "*maestro di grammatica*" and "*dottor in medicina*" from Cascia in Umbria.⁸⁵ Until his death, Antonio was rector of the local school, a position that enabled him, in 1403, to provide his daughter Zuana with a modest dowry of 300 ducats.⁸⁶ (His own wife Margarita, daughter of a teacher, had been provided with a dowry of only fourteen *lire*, around 140 ducats).⁸⁷ She married the physician Marco Valla of San Polo and remained close to her natal family, bequeathing some sixty-nine years later a number of properties to her brother Nicolò "*per amore fraterno*".⁸⁸ In her will of 1478 she nominated Nicolò as her sole heir and fiduciary.

Nicolò carved a career in the chancery and other public posts, whilst also directing his energies towards the Scuola Grande de San Giovanni Evangelista. A brother of the

⁸⁴ A similar echo of the Rizzo family is carved into the internal staircase of Palazzo Zentani (better known as Palazzo Goldoni) at San Tomà, (n.a. 2793), in the shape of a porcupine, the family emblem.

⁸⁵ See G.Tassini, *Curiosità veneziane*, op.cit., entry 'Petriana', 496-97; *Documenti per la storia della cultura in Venezia*. Vol.1, *Maestri, scuole e scolari a Venezia fino al 1500*, ed.E Bertanza-G.Dalla Santa, Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie, Monumenti storici, ser.1, XII, Venezia, (1907), 182, 210, 238-9, 242, 272-74, 279, 281, 312; Also G.Tassini, *Cittadini veneziani*, Miscellanea codici I, Storia Veneta, entry 'Petriani' n.1630.

⁸⁶ Cf. Notary, Da Angelotto, protocol c.140t, 4.7 1403.

⁸⁷ Cf. P.Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy. Literacy and Learning 1300-1600*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, (1989), 37.

⁸⁸ Antonio was himself the son of a Bolognese physician.

confraternity by 1430, he was *degano* for the *sestiere* of San Polo twelve years later, responsible for carrying out visitations to see if any brother was ill and in need of alms "so that they do not die of hunger and sickness".⁸⁹ *Vicario* by 1458, Nicolò was elected to the *scuola's* chief office in 1461.⁹⁰

After at least twenty-one years service in the chancery Nicolò was admitted to the *cancelleria secreta* in 1451. In the 1440's his notarial skills were employed when contracts were offered to mercenaries.⁹¹ Whereas his colleagues Girolamo de Nichuola and Michele de' Grassis, with similar traditions of service, advanced to become secretaries of the Ten, Nicolò was sidelined four years later, when he was removed from secret duties, along with Giovanni Danielis.⁹² Nicolò was especially concerned to place his sons in the administration, and only Benedetto seems not to have entered the chancery. In 1444, Nicolò successfully petitioned for the first available vacancy at the public weighing-office for one of his sons.⁹³ Girolamo had already followed his father by 1452, and was serving as a ballot carrier. Yet in that year Nicolò requested that Girolamo be permitted to resign and pass the post to his brother Lodovico. The post was

⁸⁹. SGE, reg. 6, unnumbered; *ibid*, R.72, 46v, (1435); as *degano*, f.59r, 10.8 1443. For the duties of the *degani*, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice*, op.cit., p.64.

⁹⁰. SGE, 72, f.97r; reg 6, unnumbered; for Nicolò as *vicario*, SGE, 140, f.264v, 12.1.1458 (mv=1459).

⁹¹. M. Neff, *Chancery secretaries*, op.cit., 502-03; *I libri Commemorativi della Repubblica di Venezia. Regesti*, ed. R.Predelli, Vol. V, (1901), for the *condotta* of Tartaglia da Trieste, n.7, 134, 3.3.1447; for that of Colla S.Agata, n.134, 49, 6.5.1450; and Orso degli Orsini, n.137, 29.5.1450.

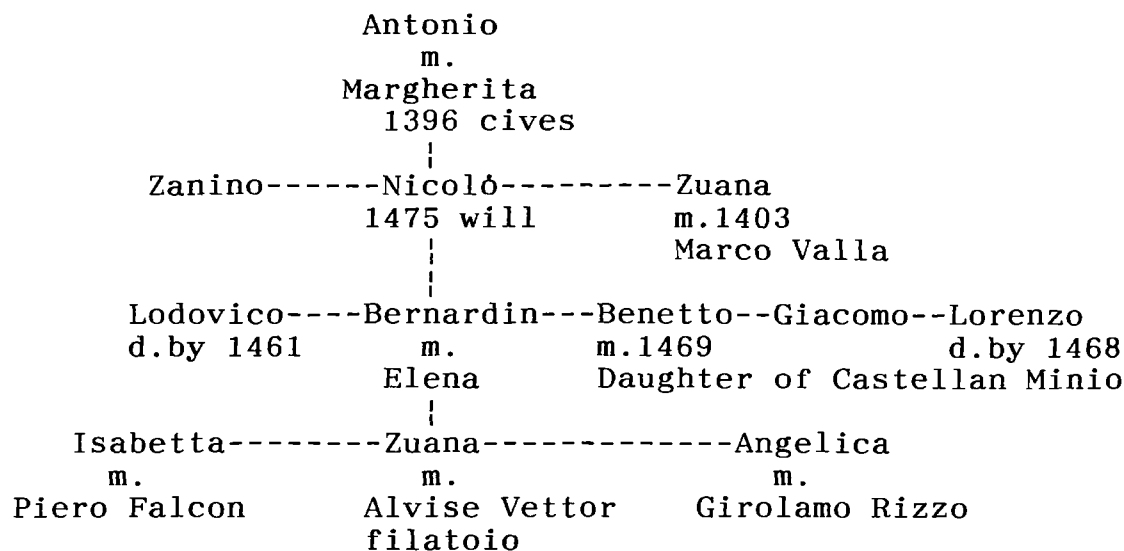
⁹². Nicolò's colleagues in the *cancelleria secreta* in 1451 also included Ulisse Aleotti and Febo Capello, who became highly influential government secretaries: M.Neff, *Chancery secretaries*, op.cit., 352, 399.

⁹³. Collegio, Notatorio, 8, f.49r.

granted instead to another of his sons, Lorenzo (who died shortly afterwards).⁹⁴ The Petriani thus can be associated with other *cittadini* families outside the *sestiere* who pursued family strategies focused almost exclusively on service to the state, such as the Businello, the Cavazza and the Franceschi.⁹⁵

In 1467, Nicolò was appointed as a notary to the *Quarantia Criminal*, and seems to have used this influence to secure for Lorenzo the post of scribe at the *Officium Bulletarum Extraordinariorum* in 1463. Five years later, Benedetto assumed his brother's position, issuing receipts for wares loaded on the merchant galleys, checking the records of these ships' scribes and calculating customs and freight.⁹⁶

FIGURE 3.4. THE PETRIANI OF SANT'APONAL.



Sources: G.Tassini, *Cittadini veneziani*, ASV, Miscellanea codici I, Storia Veneta, n.1630; IRE, DER E.86, Museo Correr Mss PD.C. 2264/9.

⁹⁴. Ibid, f.173v, f.164v.

⁹⁵ On the Franceschi, Businello and Cavazza: M.Casini, 'La Cittadinanza', art.cit., 138 and notes.

⁹⁶. Collegio, Notatorio, 10, f.85v; ibid., 11, f.25v, 6.6 1468.

Nicolò was subsequently made responsible for re-organizing and maintaining the records of state debtors, each week threading together the lists of nobles to be read out in the Great Council, whose debt made them ineligible for office. In this task he was assisted by Lorenzo, able to "recognize all our nobles and their fathers' names". By accepting this unpaid task, Lorenzo managed to renew his four-year term at the *Estraordinarii*. However, he died soon after, in June 1468.⁹⁷

In good health, Nicolò drew up his will in early 1475, selecting as his executors his two remaining sons, Benedetto and Bernardin (Giacomo died shortly before July 1461).⁹⁸ Especially evident was his attachment to both parish and *scuola*, as he requested to be buried in the tomb ("*arca*") of the confraternity in the cemetery of Sant'Aponal. He ordered bequests for a perpetual mass for the benefit of his soul in the church, twenty ducats for the "*monte delle novize*" (the *scuola's* dowry fund established in 1422) and a further ten ducats "*ai poveri de la dita scuola*". Moreover, Nicolò was not unique in the parish in his dual allegiance. Francesco Marcilian qd Zorzi, who acquired the chapel of Santa Caterina in Sant'Aponal in 1448, was a brother of San Giovanni Evangelista until 1472.⁹⁹ Ludovico Monachini, a broker, also in the *scuola*, wrote in his will of the special

⁹⁷. Ibid; Dieci, Misti, 17, f.72r, 19.8 1467; Senato, Terra 6, f.109r-110r, 9.11.1470;

⁹⁸. AN, Notary Antonio de Grassellis, b.508, unbound testament n. 178, 28.1.1474, copied in protocol register n.40.

⁹⁹. G.Tassini, *Cittadini veneziani*, Miscellanea Codici I, Storia veneta, entry 'Marzilian', n.1276; E.Cicogna, *Delle Inscrizioni veneziane*, op.cit., "Sant'Apollinare", III, n.2, 249 (inscription for the confraternity of Corpus Christi).

attachment he felt towards the parish after years of residence. He was buried in the parish cemetery next to his wife.

Nicolò's concern to provide equally for his sons is also apparent. Bernardin who "*non ha officio*" was to have the sole usufruct of the family residence "along the *calle* that leads to the San Benedetto ferry" as Beneto had "two posts".¹⁰⁰

Beneto, however, seems to have been an out-and-out rogue. He or a namesake was hauled before the *Quarantia Criminal* four months later. In a brawl on Campo San Polo, he and his cronies Antonella a moneta, Francesco Saraceno and Sancto "*pictor*" stabbed Girgio "*de Catharo*" to death.¹⁰¹ In 1494, a Beneto Petriani was also imprisoned for corruption at the *Quarantia Criminal*, only to break out of jail in 1498.¹⁰²

As conspicuous in the *contrada* were the Sanson.¹⁰³ Francesco Sanson qd Alesio was parish priest between 1445 and 1488. His brothers Giacomo, Christoforo, Andrea and Anzolo all joined the *Scuola Grande della Carità*, following in the footsteps of their uncle Leone who was *Guardian Grande* in 1427. In fact Giacomo became *Guardian Grande* himself in May 1466. Here too was the family tomb, the "*archa de i nostri de cha Sanson*".¹⁰⁴ This generation

¹⁰⁰ Bernardin the previous year unsuccessfully competed for the post of scribe at the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, the compulsory seat and exchange house for German merchants. (8.9. 1473).

¹⁰¹ ASV, Avogaria di Commun, Raspe, 3653/13, f.165r, 175r, 22.4 1474, 22.8.1474.

¹⁰² Sanudo, *Diarii*, 1,704, 986

¹⁰³ The Sanson still have a courtyard named after them as well, between *Rio delle Beccarie* and *Calle del Erbarol*. This street runs parallel to the main artery leading away from Rialto, the *Ruga Vecchia*.

¹⁰⁴ On the Sanson tomb in the Carità, G.Tassini, '*Iscrizioni dell' ex-Chiesa, Convento e Confraternita di S.Maria della Carità in Venezia*', AV, (1877).

shyed away from the chancery, suggesting that these men pursued mercantile activities. However their descendants occupied themselves in minor state service. Jacomo's son Leone was in Crete in 1474, and on his return was elected custodian of the notarial archive and later served as a grain official. His brother was dismissed in 1496 as a ballot carrier in the Great Council, the lowest rung of the chancery.¹⁰⁵

Christoforo's daughter Maria was married to the draper Alvixe Dogolin qd Francesco of San Barnaba.¹⁰⁶ Gerolamo's wife Gratirosa was Alvixe's sister.¹⁰⁷ Alvixe inherited in March 1468 a shop in Rialto Nuovo, run in association with his uncle Alvixe Ravagnan until c.1474. This site was probably the most sought after in the city, right next to the traditional seat of the trade, the *drapperia* and the new partners joined illustrious company: Princivalis de Spelatis, Domenegho Cataben of San Polo, Antonio Valerio and Zuan qd Jacobi Fasolo of San Pantalon.¹⁰⁸ Dogolin supplied the capital, 1000 ducats "*o zercha*" whilst Ravagnan provided his industry ("*la sua persona*"). Alvixe expected that his

105. G.Tassini, *Curiosità veneziane*, op.cit., entry 'Sansoni', 576; see Carità, *Sucessione ereditarie*, f.5v, for the election of Christoforo as *degano*, 11.3 1451; *ibid.*, 30.5 1454 for Jachomo's election as *guardian da matin*, f.6v; Anzolo joins the confraternity, f.11v; Jachomo's election as *vicario* in 1457, f.13r; his 23.5 1464 election as *Guardian Grande*.

106. Information from the will of Maria Sanson, 1.6. 1479, AN, Notary A.Zamberti, b.1066, 12. Dogolin's inheritance of the draper's shop in GdP, *Sentenze a Giustizia*, 150,f.63v-64v, 16.3. 1468. For the company with Alvise Ravagnan, *ibid*, 156, f.68r-71r, 26.1. 1472mv (=1473).

107. CI, Notary C.Rizzo, b.177.II, n.2, 15.3.1477. Reference is made to the testament and codicil of Maria widow of Francesco Dogolin and wife of Lunardo Boato, a citizen of Treviso. She left her daughter Gratirosa, wife of Giacomo Sanson, two hundred ducats.

108. Cristoforo Rizzo had a booth (*stacione*) at Rialto and also worked in his clients' shops there, as did Giacomo d'Avanzo. Drapers appear as both customers and witnesses in Rizzo's protocol register: CI, b.177.II, 20.1 1473 (mv), 182; 29.1. 1474, 199; 4.2.1474, 202; 28.7. 1474, 217; 12.7. 1474, 323; 21.6.1474, 306;

uncle "would treat him as a father treats a son not taking into consideration that in the past he had governed him extremely badly", but he was soon disillusioned. Dogolin dragged him before the Petizion judges in January 1473 for his failure to provide a statement of liabilities and profits.¹⁰⁹ The same Alvixe Ravagnan appears nine years later in another Petizion case against Gerolamo Sanson. Alvixe had obtained a sentence against Christoforo and to avoid his imprisonment Gerolamo had made a bank payment of 64 ducats to a Prosdicimo de Colti. Gerolamo claimed that Alvise's nephew, Gerolamo, had promised to repay the sum.

The Aiuta/Iuda family had a even longer tradition of residence in the *contrada*-in 1333 citizenship was granted to Lippo Iuda of Sant'Aponal, a Tuscan immigrant.¹¹⁰ Maffeo Iuda was inscribed on the *estimo*, the fiscal census of 1378, for the enormous figure of 35,000 ducats. (Francheschino who managed a bank at Rialto in partnership with his father-in-law, Piero da Mosto, was assessed at only 1,000 ducats). The bank run by Maffeo failed in February 1387. Remaining evidence sheds little light on the activities of their descendants. Filippo Aiuta, who drew up his will in 1468 was a wealthy physician and appears to have graduated from Padua.¹¹¹

109. GdP, Sentenze a Giustizia, 156, f.68r-71r, Ludovico Dogolin vs. Ludovico Ravagnan.

¹¹⁰. Senato, Misti, 16, c.31v quoted in R.Mueller, 'Sull'establishment bancario veneziano', art.cit., n.51, 102. See also the 1332 will of Catterina wife of Lippo in AN, Notary P.Ognibene, b.1195, 70.

¹¹¹. Filippo Iuta qd Antonio: AN, Notary, Antonio de Grassellis, b.508, n. 40: 22.12.1468. A *Phillipus de Aiuta de Venetiis* on 20.3. 1445 qualified as "*doct.art scol.med*" at Padua. See G.Zonta, G.Brotto, *Acta graduum academicorum gymnasii patavini ab anno MCCCCVI ad annum MCCCCL*, Istituto per la Storia dell' Università di Padova, typis Seminarii, Padova, (1922), 2nd edition; also S.Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, b.6, Indice catastico, f.16v, "*Ponto de Testamento de Filippo de Iuta medico*". If

After the death of Filippo and his brother Alvise some six years later, the latter's four surviving sons continued to live in the family home at the Pasina, even when Zuan married Brigida, daughter of Antonio de Martinis. But Maria, their sister did move out when she married the notary Pasini de Gratarolis. Catherine de Alessio, servant to three generations of the family, was allowed to stay.

As with the Petriani, the Aiuta family's traditional ties to the parish co-existed with other charitable impulses. Alvise requested burial at Sant'Aponal and ordered masses to be held there for six months after his death.¹¹² He left five ducats to the foundlings of the Pietà "for their nutrition". His wife, Elena, left them two ducats and the same sum to poor prisoners.¹¹³ She ordered one hundred masses in Sant' Aponal before the altar of the Virgin and wanted to be buried in Alvise's tomb ("*monumento*"). Filippo left a generous contribution of twenty ducats for the upkeep of his local church, restored in the first half of the century. He requested mortuary masses to be celebrated before his tomb in Sant'Aponal and that bread to the value of ten ducats be handed out to poor fellow parishioners. Reminded by the notary of the existence of the the Pietà and the Lazzaretto (the pesthouse), he left each five ducats.

his brother Alvise died and his heirs died before reaching maturity, the residue of his estate was to be divided into three parts, one of which was to go to the Frari (where he was buried).

112. AN, Notary, A.Grassellis, b.508, 8, 26.10. 1474.

113. Ibid., n.178, 18.1.1474 (mv=1475); see also ibid., n.148, for the will of Mathio qd Alvise, 2.9.1477.

FIGURE 3.5 THE AIUTA OF SANT'APONAL.

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Antonio
|
Alvise-----Felippo
m.           1468 will
Elena
1474 will (and for her husband)
|
Zuane--Andrea--Maria---Agustin--Piero--Matteo
m.                               1477 will
Pasini de Gratarolis

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Sanudo wrote in 1493, "It should be noted that the Venetians, just as they were merchants in the beginning, continue to trade every year"¹¹⁴ (*Et é da saper che Venetiani, cussí come sono stati nel principio mercadanti, cussí ogni anno segueno*). The draper Zuan Rizo qd Bartolomeo, also from Sant'Aponal, exemplifies that commerce played an undiminished central role amongst many *cittadini* families. He encouraged his son to carry on the family business, "*a voler far chome io ho fato*". "I laboured to earn a honest living, I have a shop and merchandise" (*io afadigarso de vadagnar con bon muodo, ho bottega, ho marchadantie*). He trusted in God that Vettor would have sufficient intellect to learn the rudiments of literacy (*farlo imparare ben a lezer una charta testada ed a scriver*). The lad would have been taught by an independent master, probably at a cost of around four ducats a year.¹¹⁵ Vettor was also instructed to take Antonio's little boy into his home and have him taught how to read and write. He was to

¹¹⁴. Translation by D.Chambers, in *Venice, A Documentary History*, op.cit., 11.

¹¹⁵. P. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, op.cit., 33.

apprentice him to "*el mestier de zimar*" (the wool trimming/shearing trade), so he would be a master by the time he was twenty. Vettor, at eighteen, could take over the "*bottega de brigada*".¹¹⁶

A family history by Benedetto Arbosani dated 1543 illustrates another strategy: a concern to marry into the patriciate. Coluccio Arbosani settled in Venice in 1310, fleeing the tyranny of Cataruzzo Antelmini in Lucca. Throughout the *quattrocento* his descendants lived a stone's throw away from the church of Sant'Aponal (in the parish of San Silvestro) and were particularly attached to the *Scuola Grande della Misericordia*.¹¹⁷

If two of Coluccio's three grandsons married into the prominent *cittadino* family, the Businello, all married their daughters into the nobility. However, Marcolina, his great great grand-daughter (of Jacomello qd Francesco) was the first to do so.¹¹⁸ She wed Polo Almorò qd Nicolò in 1394, with a dowry of 1300 ducats. Michiel, her great uncle spent the enormous sum of three thousand ducats two years later to marry his daughter, Marina to Marco Erizzo de Stefano. He then provided a further 2500 ducats for another daughter, married to Zuan Venier fu Zorzi. It appears one then remarried in 1431, with a still larger dowry (4000 ducats).¹¹⁹ Another daughter, Maria, wed Michiel's son

116. His will leaves unstated who Antonio was: AN, Notary, P.Grassellis, b. 565, Pergamene, 2, 7.11. 1446.

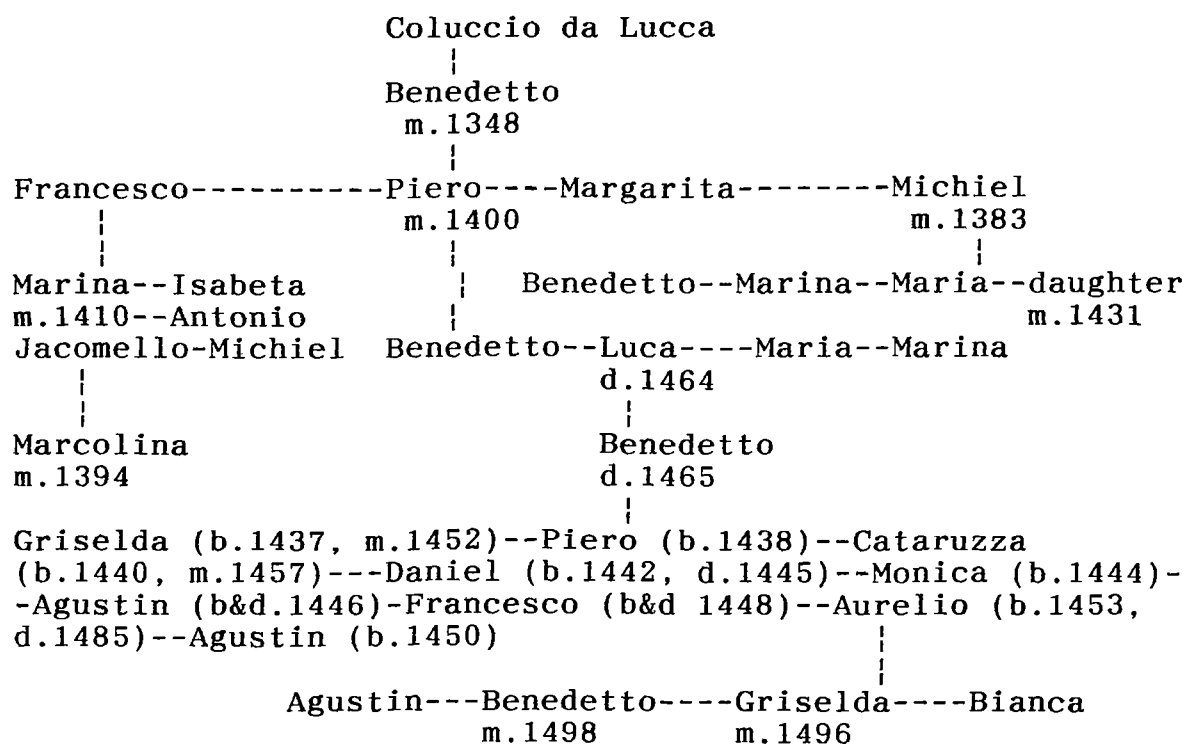
117. BNM, Mss. Ital. VII, 543 (=7887). 'Memorie della famiglia Arbosani'.

118. All marriages from the lists of "*gentil donne nella famiglia*", *ibid.*, f.7r; "*donne de cha Arbosani maritate in nobeli*", f.11r-12v; notices on the heirs of Colutio, f.12v-15r.

119. She wed Michiel Basadona fu Piero.

Francesco in 1451. Piero married his daughters into "*cha Barbarigo*", "*cha Memmo*" and "*cha Venier*": at a cost of 8800 ducats! Francesco's daughter, Marina became the wife of Zan Soranzo de Tomá in 1421, bringing him 3500 ducats.

FIGURE 3.6. THE ARBOSANI OF SAN SILVESTRO.



In the following generation, Nicolò Marcello fu Bernardo and Luca Dolfin de Antonio both married daughters of Benedetto de Luca, with dowries of 2500 ducats. This attitude towards the patrician order is also reflected in the 1456 will of Andrea da Riviera qd Nicolò (of San Tomà) who instructed that his daughter Maria receive 1000 ducats if she entered a nunnery, but 3000 if she married a "*zentilhomio de Gran Conseio*". Andrea and the Arbosani can thus be compared to figures such as the physician Nicolò Leonardi, who provided

in his will that if he had one or two daughters, they should be married to Venetian noblemen and have 2000 ducats each.¹²⁰ However if there were many, they should be married to *cittadini* (*civibus popolaribus*) "*cum honesta dote*". But if all his heirs were female, all were to be married to noblemen. However, we should bear in mind that the incidence of marriage between nobles and *cittadini* was low. Only 5.6% of noble marriages during the century were with *cittadini*.¹²¹ Families like the Arbosani thus appear truly exceptional. This strand of the order was above all concerned with erasing or at least to blunt the line that divided them from the nobility; the self-consciousness of belonging to a distinct order displayed by others such as the Petriani seems to represent a more independent current, underlining the diverse attitudes of *cittadini* in this period.

¹²⁰ M.King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*, op.cit., 62-63.

¹²¹ D.Romano, *Patricians and Popolani*, op.cit., 51.

CHAPTER 4. THE COMMON PEOPLE.

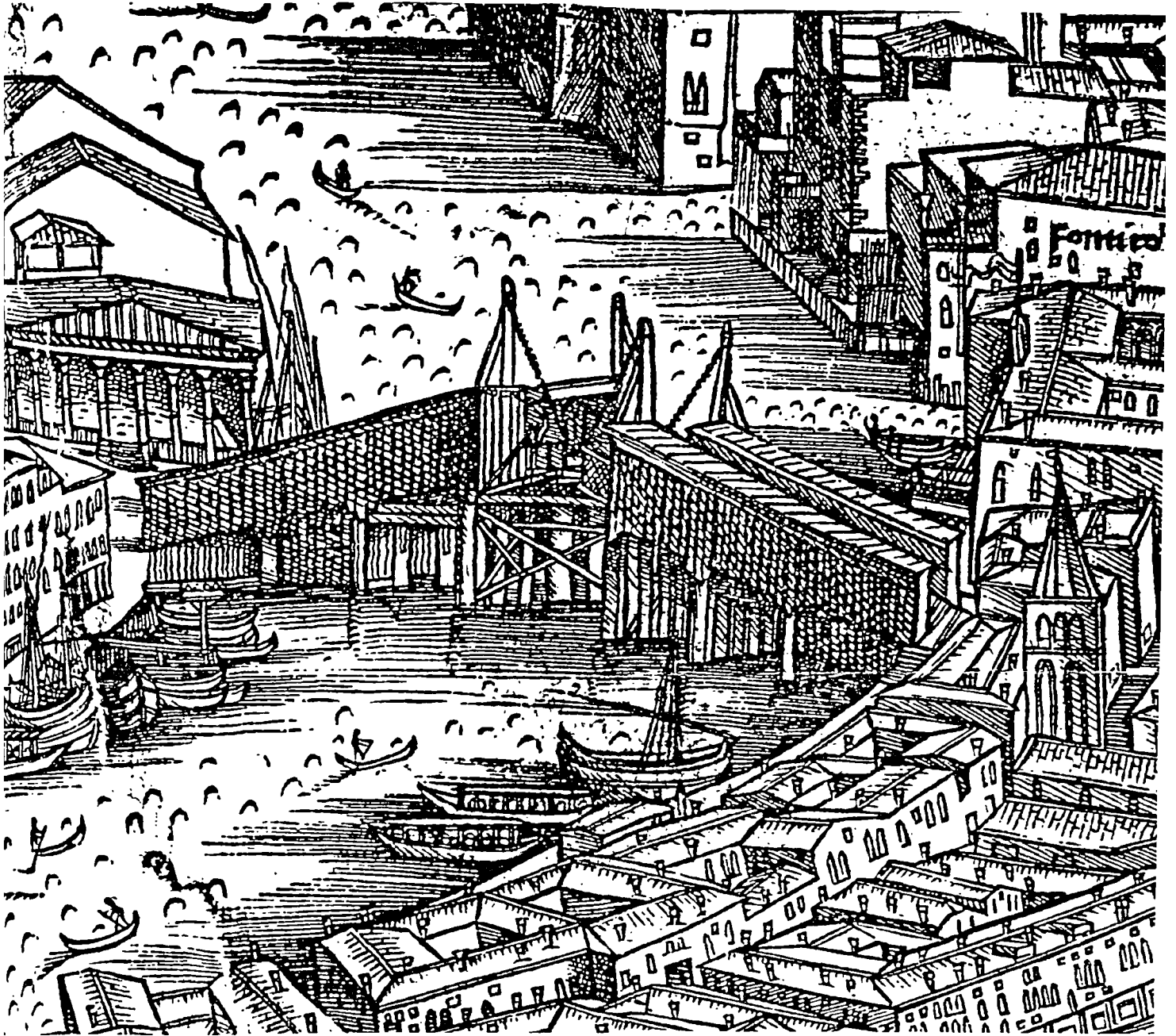
Exhilarated by the "visual delights" of Rialto from his window in 1537, Pietro Aretino wrote to his landlord, "Never do I lean out but I see a thousand people and as many gondolas at market time (*"su l'ora de i mercandanti"*)..It is all so fascinating, including the twenty or so sailboats choked with melons, lashed together to form a sort of island where people run and assess the quality of the melons by snuffing them and weighing them".¹

A half-century earlier, Rialto was similarly teeming with the *"poveri ortolani"* of Mazzorbo, Chioggia, Malamocco and San Ariano selling musk-melons, and greens to *compravendi*, most of whom were women who peddled them throughout the city.² On Saturdays, the *ortolani* set up stalls in the vegetable market held in the small square between the *fruttaria* and the bridge. During the dawn hours, Rialto's quaysides were thick with fleets of squat barges laden with *"formazi, biave, vini di osteria, mercantie"* from Vicenza, Este, Padua, Piove and Mestre; from Lombardy and the Polesine came boats stacked with eggs and poultry. Here too came a steady trickle of *villani* (peasants), laden with chickens.³ But established *gallineri* (poulterers) had

1. P.Aretino, *Lettere. Il primo e secondo libro*, ed.F.Flora, con note storiche di A.Del Vita in *Tutte le opere di Pietro Aretino*, Milano, Mondadori, (1960), 264.

2. Sant'Ariano is an islet, far off in the northern lagoon in the treacherous channels beyond Torcello. Now it is only inhabited by the dead, for it became the bone-house of Venice in the seventeenth century. A document of October 10 1488 establishes that the *compravendi de Rialto* were organised into a *scuola* (corporation) with a *gastaldo* (steward), *vicario* and *scrivano*: Provveditori al Sal, Notatorio, II, 184r.

3. It was only in 1509 that Sanudo reports large numbers of *villani* streaming into the city, refugees fleeing the pillage and burning of mercenaries; he was shocked by the sight of a donkey laden with



The Rialto bridge: from Jacopo de Barbari's view of Venice (1500, Museo Civico Correr)

resorted to chasing them away by 1483, "and worse still" buying up their goods, "*fazando carastia alla terra*". Five years later, Venetian *compravendi* of fruit "unwilling to make way for those who brought goods from outside the city", abandoned their stalls and began cluttering the street with their crates and baskets.⁴ Other pedlars hawked mercery from their sacks or sold almonds on the Rialto bridge. To this floating mass of people, we must add the hundreds of Venetian tradesmen who rented pitches and shops at Rialto.

From the twelfth century, members of the same guild tended to concentrate along a specific street at Rialto; this was a spontaneous process and was never subject to legal sanction. The most homogenous were those created earliest, such as the street of the tailors (the *ruga dei sartori*) opposite the church of San Giovanni Elemosinario, first documented in 1281. The further away from the market, the more this solidarity dissolved, above all in San Matteo. But if not every guild had its own street at Rialto, many trades can be pinpointed there.

Throughout the century, bakers' shops flanked the meat market (hence the street was known as the *panatteria*), whilst the stalls of poulterers, heaped with rows of plucked

sacks of flour on the Rialto bridge, and "*porzi e piegore..in piazza S.Marco*": Sanudo, *Diarii*, 8, col.164. Indispensable to what follows, Provveditori al Sal, Notatorio, II; R.Cessi, A.Alberti, *Rialto*, op.cit., 72-82; Jacopo d'Albizzotto Guidi, *El sommo della condizione e stato e principio della città di Vinegia e di suo territorio*, whose two chapters on Rialto are reproduced in appendix to Cessi/Alberti's book; V.Rossi, 'Jacopo d'Albizzotto Guidi e il suo poema inedito su Venezia', NAV, V, (1893), 397-451.

4. On the *gallineri*: Provveditori al Sal, b.60, reg.1., Notatorio, II, f.35r, 23.2.1483 (against a *Maistro Vixentin*), f.49v (2.8.1483), f.168v, 22.1.1487mv (=1488); decree of 2.8.1483 also in reg.59, Notatorio I, f.19v, 2.8.1483; on the *fruttaroli*, *ibid*, f.164v-165r (22.10.1487), also 24.10.1487, f.165r;

birds ("*tanto grasse che paion pur torte*"-Jacopo d'Albizzotto Guidi, 1442), clustered at its threshold (the *pollaria*). Around the corner, beside the Grand Canal, there lay the bustling *fruttaria* (*ch'è di gran lena*); Down side streets behind the *piazzetta* of San Giacomo nestled the *cordaria* (the street of the rope makers) and the *casaria* (of the sellers of cheese and suet). In the shadow of the church of San Giovanni was the *varoteria*, the seat of the vair furriers.⁵ But the premises of the linen sellers (*tellaroli*), a portico along the western side of the square, was torn down shortly after 1459 to make way for a new loggia; they subsequently appear to have huddled together by the *cordaria*.⁶ Barbers, *salumai*, orange-sellers and shoemakers appear to have been jumbled together, in the vicinity of the New Fishmarket. Clustered beyond them were the shearers, hosiers and second-hand dealers.

Yet many tradesmen simply ignored areas traditionally assigned to them and invaded areas around the foot of the Rialto bridge, infuriating others who paid stiff rents for their stalls: the fruitsellers bitterly complained about orange-sellers who had migrated *en masse* to a site alongside the *loggia* between the Palazzo dei Camerlenghi and the

5. On the furriers see R.Delort, *La commerce des fourrures en Occident a la fin du Moyen Age*, II Vols, Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome, Perugia, (1980); idem., 'Un aspect de commerce vénitien au XVe siècle: Andrea Barbarigo e le commerce des fourrures (1430-1440)', *Le Moyen Age*, LXXI, (1965), 29-70, 247-73. Here too, and in Rialto Nuovo were cloth merchants and drapers, all solid *cittadini*.

6. 31.5.1459, Senato, Terra, 4, 109r:published in R.Cessi, A.Alberti, *Rialto*, document VI, 317-18. See also P.Fortini-Brown, *Venetian narrative painting in the age of Carpaccio*, op.cit., Catalogue, IX, 268; *Tellaroli* were clearly linen sellers rather than workers, as the "*misteri*" was severely damaged by foreigners buying "*canevaze, telieri, e telle*" in the German exchange house: see G.M.Thomas (ed.), *Capitolare dei Visdomini del Fontego dei Tedeschi a Venezia* (*Capitular das deutschen Hauses in Venedig*), Berlin, (1874).

church of San Giacomo, especially when they began selling cherries; whilst the Salt Magistrates vainly attempted to prevent *vendrigole* (women pedlars) from selling vegetables outside the *fruttaria*, or hawking fruit in the Old Fishmarket (1481).⁷ We see a quite different Rialto from the enormously important commercial centre, "where almost all the city comes together morning and evening to do business" (Marc'Antonio Coccio Sabellico), to collect and eavesdrop on news, or perhaps make and receive payments through the *banche di scritta* by oral order.⁸

Unfortunately, it is difficult to say anything very precise and impossible to give overall statistics about the "little people" of the *sestiere*. The difficult and frustrating business of fleshing out a collective portrait relies on sampling of wills and the "small brushwork of inference".⁹ We would expect to catch snatches of the very poor, a "mass of destitution, misfortune and rascality" and the migrant throng who swelled their ranks as they came to

7. Aretino wrote of "gli aranci che indorano i piedi al palazzo de i camerlinghi": *Lettere*, op.cit., 264-65; D.Calabi, P.Morachiello, *Rialto: le fabbriche e il Ponte 1514-1591*, Einaudi, Torino, (1987), 129-130, mentions the migration of *naranzieri*; Provveditori al Sal, b.59, Notatorio I, f.20r, against "vendrigole che vende frute", whose business damaged stallholders, 19.8.1483.

8. On the banks see R.Mueller., 'I banchi locali a Venezia nel Tardo Medioevo', art.cit.; *ibid.*, 'The Role of Bank Money in Venice, 1300-1500', in *SV*, n.s. III, (1979), 47-96. (an expanded version of 'Bank money in Venice, to the mid-fifteenth century', in V.Barbaglia Bagnoli (ed.), *La moneta nell'economia europea, secoli XIII-XVIII, Atti della settima Settimana di studi (1975) del Istituto internazionale di storia economica "Francesco Datini"*, Prato, Firenze, (1982).

9. On the "small brushwork of inference", see E.P.Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters. The Origin of the Black Act*, pkb.ed., Penguin, (1977), 115. Both Thompson and Carlo Ginzburg have vigorously defended the position that historical knowledge always involves a degree of conjecture. Cf. C.Ginzburg, 'Spie: Radici di una paradigma indizario', *Ombre Rosse*, XXIX, (1979), 80-107, now in his *Miti, emblem, spie: Morfologia e storia*, Nuovo Politecnico, Einaudi, Torino, (1986), 158-209. The best of three English translations is 'Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method', in U.Eco, T.Sebeok, (eds), *The Sign of Three. Dupin, Holmes, Peirce*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, (1983), 81-119. There is a memorable passage on the 'probable character' of historical enquiry in M.Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, (1954).

the attention of the authorities through common crime and poor relief, but again and again the sources collapse just at the point when we would expect them to reveal most.¹⁰ Vagrants and beggars must remain nameless. But from wills and notarial sources in general, guild statutes, and detailed and vivid records such as those of the Court of the Forty or the day-to-day decisions of the Health Commissioners and the Salt Office, we can recover details of artisans and domestic servants otherwise lost from history.

It is extremely difficult to precisely define the social profile of the *popolo minuto* in the individual parishes of San Polo; not least because of the lack of strong concentrations of any one trade. However, for a useful pointer we can fall back on a sharp statistical profile of the populace in the parish of San Polo during the late sixteenth century.

Sylvie Favalier published the raw figures, drawn from a census preserved in the Patriarchal archive (c.1590-95) and the parish registers of births (1564-99).¹¹ If in the 1509 census, 1782 persons were classified, 2296 were counted in the last decade of the century; of this total, 816 were

10. "A mass of destitution, misfortune and rascality" (A.H.Thomas), quoted in M.Keen, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages*, (The Penguin Social History of Britain), Penguin, Harmondsworth, (1990), 118.

11. S.Favalier, 'Le attività lavorative in una parrocchia del centro di Venezia (San Polo, secolo XVI)', *SV*, n.s. IX, (1985), 187-97. Cf. A.Bruni, 'Mobilità sociale et mobilità geografica nella Venezia di fine '500: la parrocchia di San Salvador', *Annali Veneti*, II, (1985), 75-83.

heads of households, and 584 "workers".¹² (Two thousands people were counted in the 1581 visitation records).¹³

Despite its hazards, the evidence is striking: Venice may have always looked to the sea: but mariners, caulkers, *squeriaroli*, and fishermen were very thin on the ground here; a great variety of trades were represented in the *contrada*: some 176 in all. The greatest number of people were servants, boatmen or those involved in the clothing and textile trades. If we look closer at the last category, we find many tailors, *laneri*, dyers and shearers; there were smaller concentrations of wool combers and carders, but very few weavers or teaselers, suggesting that the yarn was put out to women on the Terraferma. The presence of silk-weavers was modest whilst the contingent of linen-workers and velvet-makers was low. San Polo also included significant numbers of shoemakers, wine merchants/*travasadori*, carpenters, builders, barbers, spicers, fruitsellers, and goldsmiths. In evaluating these figures not only do we have to allow for the catastrophic plague of 1575-77, but also for long-term economic trends such as the meteoric rise of the Venetian wool industry: the output of cloths

12. We face serious problems in trying to interpret the census figures and to make meaningful comparisons, since it is entirely unclear why, how and by whom this census was made; For instance, census-takers in Venice often recorded foreigners separately, or recorded women's work irregularly—some priests recorded the occupations of not only female heads of households but of wives and daughters, whilst others wrote down nothing but "widow"; others did not describe women as midwives or prostitutes. Cf. P.Burke, 'Classifying the people: the census as collective representation', in *The historical anthropology of early modern Italy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, (1987), 27-39.

13. S.Tramontin, 'La visita apostolica del 1581 a Venezia', *SV*, IX, (1967), 508-09.

"skyrocketed from less than 2,000 in 1516, when a series of figures begins, to more than 20,000 a year after 1565".¹⁴

Francesco Grassi worked as a priest-notary in San Polo between 1445 and 1464; Christoforo Ognibene did likewise between 1452-73; Both men were elected parish priest: respectively in 1456 and 1467.¹⁵ Another priest, Girolamo de Persecini was also active here intermittently between 1421 and 1471. His namesake, the *cittadino* Girolamo Bonicardi, also attracted clients from the parish in the years 1473-88.¹⁶ However, rather than using these notaries to reconstruct the "social mix" of San Polo, they can instead help provide an accurate context for the more substantial evidence that remains for the adjacent parish of Sant'Aponal between 1445 and 1493.

The overwhelming bulk of evidence can be found in two hefty *buste*, containing over six hundred wills and a protocol register drafted by Antonio Grasellis and his father, Pietro.¹⁷ Sixty-six wills survive for minor artisans or the poor in Sant'Aponal between August 1448 and July 1493, forty-nine of which were written by or for women, in amongst a total of over six hundred.

14. According to recent estimates, Venice's total population spiralled to 130,000 persons by 1540, 160,000 by 1552-55 and 170,000 by 1563. The plague of 1577 wiped out almost a quarter of the population, as it had fallen dramatically to 135,000 four years later. In 1586, population had recovered to 148,640: G.Cozzi, M.Knapton, G.Scarabello, *La Repubblica di Venezia nell'età moderna. Dal 1517 alla fine della Repubblica*, UTET, Torino, (1992), 211; On cloth production, D.Sella, 'The Rise and Fall of the Venetian Woolen Industry', in B.Pullan (ed.), *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy*, Methuen, London, (1968), 106-26.

15. F.Corner, *Ecclesiae venetae*, op.cit., Decas Terttia, 324. Christoforo died in 1475.

16. AN, Notary, G.Bonicardi, bb.68-69.

17. AN, Notary, P.Grassellis, b.565; *ibid.*, A.Grassellis, b.508; CI, Notary A.Grassellis, b.99 (this protocol register contains 266 acts).

Four wills were drawn up on behalf of domestic servants: the aforementioned Catherine de Alesio, who worked for two generations of the Aiuta family (see page 125); Maria "*sclavona*", in the home of the tailor Marco de Redolfis de Ferrara; Magdalena "*olim famula e serva de Marco Venier*", wife of the shearer Christoforo of Bergamo; and Bona, employed by Davide Contarini. Antonio Grassellis also drew up a dowry receipt for 50 ducats for one Lucas de Stagno of S.Margherita, who married Lucia de Ragusio, "*famula*" of Ruggero Ruzzini (1472).¹⁸

Servants are also frequently mentioned in the testaments of their employers. Maria da Feltre and "*un'altra fantescha*" were remembered by Marina Bragadin.¹⁹ In addition to her salary, safely locked in an old casket, Marina left Maria ten ducats and wanted her sent back to her mother at Padua to marry (1485). We also know that Catherine de Bosnia worked in the household two years earlier.²⁰ Elena, widow of Jachomo Emo, left her servant Maria (who had also been her sons' wet-nurse) not only a mattress and bed-linen, but twenty ducats a year and any tablecloths (*tobaleas*), household goods (*suppelectilium*), fabrics (*drapos*) and *mantiglia* she desired.²¹

In fact noble and *cittadini* households throughout the *sestiere* were swelled by the presence of servants, wet-

18. CI, Notary, A.Grassellis, b.99, 23, f.7r, 10.5.1472.

19. Marina, a granddaughter of Doge Francesco Foscari, was married to Francesco Bragadin qd Jacobi. Her will: AN, Notary, A.Grassellis, b.508, 154, 5.6.1485.

20. Ibid., 28.2.1483 (mv=1484); f.40r.

21. Barbara, known as Lena was also a servant here: *ibid.*, 110, f.26v, 27.8.1480. Catherine de Zara is mentioned as wet-nurse to Francesco Bragadin's sons in December 1470: *ibid.*, 12, f.4r, 14.12.1470.

nurses and slaves. Polisena Priuli of San Tomá (see page 98) — promised to free her slave Zurzi, on condition he completed twelve years service "*chomenzando dal tempo che io eI compri*". Anastasia, her Circassian slave-girl was due to emancipated after eighteen years service but Polisena implored her sons to emancipate her earlier. Sophia, who had been "*femena de mia madre*", received six ducats, a fur (*una de mie pelize*), a mantle (*una chapa de sarza*) and one of her second best *veste*. She was strongly discouraged from abandoning Polisena's children but if she did leave she would be given two sets of bedsheets and four bolsters.²² Such servants were usually bequeathed only a "*leto fornido*", a mattress and bed-linen. Cases like this serve to show that strong affective ties could develop between nobles and their servants, particularly with wet-nurses. And in one instance, a servant made a bequest to their master's family. Margarita, servant of Antonio de Xabellis de Caravaggio (of San Silvestro) left a painted coffer to his daughter Andriana.²³

Thirty wills were drawn up for foreigners, or their wives and widows ("*de Brescia, de Negroponte*" etc. was tacked onto their names). *Bergamaschi* alone accounted for just over one-third of this total, whereas Venice's seaborne Empire was thinly represented with three Dalmatians (two "*schiaconi*"

22. AN, Notary, G.de Persecinis, b.823, 150. The average age of Circassian girls sold in Venice was 20 and their average price was 56 ducats: C.Verlinden, *L'Esclavage dans L'Europe Médiévale*, Vol.II, Gent, (1977), 604-17.

23. AN, Notary, P.Busenello, b.66, 269. Quoted in this context by D.Romano, 'Aspects of Patronage in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Venice', *Renaissance Quarterly*, XLVI, (1993), 712-733 (He provides several examples of this practice).

and a migrant from Split), an Albanian seaman and a possible refugee from Negroponte (Euboea). The remainder came from Tuscany, Brescia, Feltre, Parma, Piacenza, Milan, Ferrara, and even Zagreb.

Service occupations and the textile trades loom large: five men are identified as barbers and tailors, four as boatmen, three as shoemakers and furriers, along with a couple of doublet-makers, a silk-weaver, shearer, "*lanarius*" and "*telarolo*". The role of women in these trades, however, is invisible; but they certainly belonged to the guilds of the mercers, fustian weavers, *peteneri*, tailors, doublet-makers, *bereteri* and the second-hand dealers.²⁴ We find the ubiquitous bakers and smiths, but only a single mariner. Yet, if we pursue an independent line of research and approach Sant'Aponal's population obliquely, by piecing together a profile of those who acted as witnesses, a fuller picture emerges.

Amongst those 105 men identified by trade who signed their names, tailors were once again the most numerous group (14%), followed by the barbers (9.5%) and goldsmiths (9.5%). Cobblers and shoemakers comprised (6%), barely more than painters and drapers, trades which faded imperceptibly into the ranks of the *cittadini*, and amongst whom literacy was far more likely to percolate. Furriers, dyers, *Aromateri* (spicers-cum apothecaries), *cesteri*, belt-makers, coopers, linen sellers and weavers all make several appearances; a

24. R.Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders. The World of the Guilds in Venice and Europe, c.1250-c.1650*, Croom Helm, London, (1987), 29.

fontegher, an embroiderer, a pork-butcher, doublet-maker, baker, woolcomber, woolbeater and a wine-seller make up the tally. While this sample stretches across many trades, it is may nevertheless be misleading. To this already complicated picture, fraught with uncertainties, we must add other unknowns.

The Biblioteca Correr holds a copy of the accounts kept by an Antonio Grasolariis for the *commessaria* of Zuan Morosini qd Piero detailing rents from his properties in Sant'Aponal between August 1463 and 1472, within a copy of a court case between his heirs and the Zane.²⁵ Morosini's tenants included an Alegreto de Rado de Trau, three porters ("*Zegni fachin*", "*Antonio da Spin fachin*", "*Zuan portizador*"), a second-hand dealer, a Bergamasque and a Comascho. These porters are exactly the sort of manual labourers for whom we have only scraps and clues. Sabellico remarked the continual coming and going of these "*bastasi*" between the Flour Warehouse and the *Riva del Vin*. In the immediate vicinity were two "huge" customs-houses; the *Dazio del Vin* and *Dogana di Terra*, and beyond the hundreds of storehouses and *volte* at Rialto.²⁶ But we only know of the "*fachini*, *baxtaxij et omnes furlani (friulani)* " who settled around Calle Furlani, close to the Arsenal at San Antonin (1454).²⁷; We also must bear in mind the underworld of

25. BMC, Pdc 1148/2, f.121r, 143ff.

26. On "*bastaxi*", see A.Sambo, 'Il lavoro portuale', in *Storia di Venezia*, XII, *Il Mare*, 850-53; in the mid-Cinquecento, all those in the guilds of the *bastasi della dogana di mar/di terra* were all Bergamaschi, divided into "*colonelli*" according to particular communes.

27. On 25.9.1454 the Heads of the Sestieri were ordered by the Council of Ten to conduct a census of all persons "*que portant urnas a vino* and all porters, "*bastaxij*" and "*furlani*" who could be called

Sant'Aponal, with its strangehold over the labyrinth of backstreets and dark courts behind *Calle del Figher* and in the *Carampane*; yet as prostitution became a city-wide phenomenon, there was undoubtedly a haemorrhage of "*ruffiani*", "*berthoni*" and "*mamole*" away from this parish.²⁸

Although the picture remains unfocused, somewhat surprisingly printers and minor craftsmen such as pewterers, tinsmiths, cabinet-makers, and wood-carvers are noticeable by their absence; industrial trades are obviously missing, as we would expect in an area so close to the Rialto. However, fustian weavers and sellers, mercers, hatters were missing from the clothing trades here, as were the foreigners who made "girdles, big bags..wallets, playing-cards, caps, and dyed skins for girdles and bags". *Taiacalze* (who had a reputation of being poor) and second-hand dealers (whose status varied greatly) were probably more numerous here than remaining evidence suggests. The scene appears to have been dominated by febrile activity in small workshops, employing few apprentices; two or three trades seem to have been especially associated with the parish; tailors, goldsmiths, and barbers.

As is well known, the street of the goldsmiths, the *Ruga degli Orefici* was the opening stretch of the main arterial

on to fight fires. Sant'Aponal was indicated as a focus of activity, at least on this side of the canal, for the charcoal-bearers. For their *Mariegola* (of 1479), D.Chambers, B.Pullan (eds)., *Venice. A Documentary History*, op.cit., 285-6. A confraternity of *bastaxii* only met at Sant'Aponal from 1665. 28. In the following chapter, I discuss at greater length the decline of San Matteo as a centre of prostitution.

route leading from Rialto. Furthermore, the Great Council decreed in 1331 that goldsmiths could only trade and have their shops within the island of Rialto; Ever since 1316, the tailors had shops and their street opposite the church of San Giovanni Elemosinario; barbers, who also practised blood-letting, cauterized sores, dealt with minor wounds, set broken bones and pulled teeth, may have gravitated here because of the vast numbers of people passing through Rialto: but we cannot ignore their sinister reputation for running *stufe* and brothels (a notoriety which undoubtedly contributed to their shops being particularly execrated by the Ten for being "schools of sodomy").²⁹

By the fifteenth century, apart from a short stretch of Rio Sant'Aponal only kinks in the street patterns betrayed the erratic boundaries of San Silvestro and Sant'Aponal, so interlocked were the parishes.³⁰ Naturally, trades spilled over these boundaries.

By a property division of March 1471, Marin qd Niccolo Zane received five shops "*suxo la strada va a Rialto*", leased to a tailor, doublet-maker, furrier, shearer and

29. Provveditori alla Sanità, Notatorio, 15.3.1490, f.4v: "*Essendo fata denutia a l'officia che in l'hostaria del Lion ne la casa che tegnir Alvise barber ruffian che lavora ala bottega del Saraxin in caò de piazza*" (a young girl, aged 13 had died of plague and he had wrapped her body in a sheet, taken it to San Zanipolo and furtively thrown it into the cemetery). A Robero "Bressan", a barber was arrested "*per ruffianazo*" by the Lords of the Night in March 1489, Signori di Notte, Reg. 21; On 9.1.1464 mv (=65) Pietro Alipandri, a "ponce", was arrested for sodomy by the Ten; other barbers arrested included Nicolò de Jadra, 28.6.1456, Johannem Todeschini de S.Lunardo, 12.9.1459, Luca Alexandro de Pavia, Dieci, Misti, 17, f.100v (30.1.1468 mv [=69]). See G.Lorenzi, *Leggi e memorie varie*, op.cit., 219; for suspicion regarding barbers see G.Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros: sex crime and society in Renaissance Venice*, Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford, (1985), 229ff. 30. Master Johannes Dolmo de Alemagne thus described the shop in which he worked with Anzolo da Chremona *rechamador* as "*in contrata Sancti Silvestri super campum Sancti Apollinaris*". AN, Notary A.Grasellis, b. 508, unbound testament, 131 (25.6.1483).

painter. Fifteen years later, Maria Zane qd Iachomo "invested" a barber's shop in "*corte del Favro*", along with several shops on the corner of the "*Ruga di Orexi*" rented to a tailor, shoemaker, spicer and *stringer*; three others nearby were let to a *zuponer*, goldsmith, *chiovarolo* (who stretched wool on huge frames) and a smith. Laura qd Benedetto Arbosani let her property in the *contrada* to a barber, a "*zester*", quilt-maker, broker, carpenter, mercer and a carter.

We can identify twenty-eight tailors (nearly all masters) working in the parish of Sant'Aponal in the later fifteenth century;³¹ The premises of the brothers Antonio and Johannis de Sentino qd Guielmi stood on *Campo Sant'Aponal*; but master tailors also profilerated in neighbouring San Silvestro; Francesco da Macherino da Crema, Antonio "*de Caravazzo*", Corado de Alemania qd Nicolò, Bernardin "*de Bressa*" and Agostin Ghiberti de Bergamo. The guild was evidently open to immigrant labour, since a great majority of masters hailed from Bergamo, Brescia, and Crema, and in

31. Agustin da Crema, 1498. S.Marco, b.4, 11r; Alberti de Johannis: AN, Notary, F.Grassi, b.531, 226. (31.5.1472) and AN, Notary, A.Grasellis, b.508, Pergamene, 27, (26.10.1474), (witness to both; Alvise da Crema, 1499, S.Marco, 4, f.11r; Magister Andrea qd Francesco de Redolfis, AN Notary A.Grasellis, b.508, unbound testament, 9, 13.5.1471; Antonio qd Guielmi de Sentino: CI, Notary A.Grasellis, b.99, 32, 29.3.1471. For the will of his sister-in-law, Catherina, married to his partner Giovanni, AN, Notary, A.Grasellis, b.508, unbound testament, 62, 2.11.1481; Antonio qd Nicolò, Proprio, Vadimoni, R.8, f.23r, 20.9.1476; Bernardin de Redolfis: CI, A.Grasellis, b.99, 40 18.1.1474mv (witness); Bernardo de Antonio, S.Marco, 4, f.21v, "*cazado*" 1497; Bernardo qd Bartolomeo Guielmi de Charavazo: CI, Notary, A.Grasellis, b.99, 79, 26.2.1477, (witness; Bernardin de Verona ibid., 137, 1.4.1483; Johanne *sartor*, a Florentine: Avogaria di Commun Raspe 3653 13 f 42r 4.4.1470; Mafio de Braga da Pavia: S.Marco, 4, f.91v, "*cazado*" 1492; Marco de Francesco de Redolfis de Bergamo, CI, Notary, A.Grasellis, b.99, 136, 13.5.1471; Marco de Sermin, in SGE R 12 *Mariegala* entered 1459, died May 1484; Mathio de Brescia: Proprio, Vadimoni, 6 19v, 12 2.1472 Alvise qd Zuan for his brother Magister Sebastian, who died intestate, QN, 71, f.21r, 4.5 1486.

diminishing numbers from Florence, Pavia, Verona, Lodi and Cattaro.

Barbers were heavily represented in all three parishes of San Polo, San Silvestro and Sant'Aponal. "Maistro Pasqualin" had his shop on the vast *Campo San Polo*; Mathio and Antonio worked at the famous "*botega della segna del Cheba*"³²; Nicolò qd Zuan, Lorenzo and a Lazarus plied their trade "*alle Tre Teste*" in Rialto, owned by Nicholoxa Zane; Lodovico d'Amato and Nicolò "de Comitibus" worked at the *Riva de Ferro*.³³

We can also catch a precious glimpse of a cluster of Bergamasques renting eight "*caxe*" from Salvador Salvazzo in the area still known as the *Pasina* (Sant'Aponal) in 1474 and 1477 (See table below).

Table 4.1. BERGAMASCHI AT THE "PAXINA" (1474, 1477).

Ser Salvador Salvazo	la so partida de caxe e botege...
Ser Piero zester	una caxa paga d.6
Ser Marcho da Bergamo	una caxa paga d.5
Ser Donado da Bergamo	una caxa paga d.6
Ser Venturin da Bergamo	una caxa paga d.5
Ser Vincenzo da Bergamo	una caxa paga d.6
Ser Antonio da Bergamo	una caxa paga d.5
Ser Simon da Bergamo	una caxa paga d.5
Ser Iachomo e compagni	una caxa paga d.5...
Tratto dal catasticho del 1474..	

32. On October 13th 1545, Magister Alvisè qd Bernardin, "*caseller*" testified "I know that before the Rialto fire ("*el brusar de Rialto*" there was the said barber's shop at the Sign of the Cage along the Riva del Ferro...and I know there first lived there "*Maistro Mathio and Maistro Alvisè fratelli, e poi li sucresse Francesco*", APSS, f.45r. For testimony by others who worked at the Cage, see Chapter 1.

33. Antonio son of Giovanni barber "*super campo Sancti Pauli in apotheca de Pasqualin barbier*: AN, Notary, G.Bonicardi, b.68, 62, 3.5.1483, (witness); Lorenzo "*barbier*" renting from Nicholoxa Zane: QM, 58, 20.10.1475; Nicolò de Comitibus "*del Pomo d'Oro*": *ibid.*, 30, 28.2.1479 (mv=1480 ; Nicolò qd Zuanne: AN, Notary, A.Grassellis, b.508, 108, 31.8.1469, (witness); Pasqualin barber at San Polo AN, Notary, G.Bonicardi, b.68, 68, 15.1.1478 (mv=1479), (witness); Pietro de Pavia and Bernardin de Verona: Avogaria di Comun, Raspe, 3653/13, f.122v-123r, 28.7.1472.

Ser Salvador Salvazo ala paxina...
 Una caxa abitta Lorenzo da Bergamo d.5
 Uno magazen vuoda se affita al mexe
 Una caxa habita Panthalon da Bergamo d.4
 Una caxa habita Donado da Bergamo d.5
 Una caxa habita Venturin barcher d.4 zoe d.4
 Una caxa habita Marco zestaruol d.4
 Una caxa habita Venturin da Bergamo burchier d.4
 Una caxa habita Zanco e compagni d.8 ...
 Tratta del Chatasticho del 1477...

Eight years later, Venturin da Bergamo wrote his will, here whilst in the throes of fever. The witnesses - Pietro Sandri de Rasan "de Bergamo", Bettino qd Martino de Poltranega "de Bergamo", and Johanino son of Pietro de Poltranega "de Bergamo" - were all described as living "*ala Paxina*". Martinus Andrea de Bergamo "*ospes ad Sarasin*" was also resident in "*cha de Iuda ad Pasina*" in 1478. 34 A further twenty-two Bergamasques can be identified in the parish; furthermore, we know that an inn (*osteria*) within the Patriarchal Palace at San Silvestro, about one hundred yards away, was run by Bergamasques at that time. It may be no coincidence either that a confraternity for the Bergamasque community, dedicated to S.Alessandro was founded in the church of San Silvestro in 1481. Fifteen Bergamasques can be identified in San Silvestro during the 1470's and 80's from the acts of priest-notaries; the clear impression is of significant numbers converging on adjacent parishes. The overall impression is that immigrants from the Terraferma, and particularly Bergamasques were drawn to these parishes.

34. He appears as a witness to AV, Notary, P.Arrivabene, b.36, *cedole*, 3, 28.5.1478.

Bergamasques had a reputation of "earning what they can with sweat and the greatest pains and saving as much as possible on clothes and food" (Matteo Bandello); but, as Girolamo Priuli noted, though *Bergamaschi* were universally known as *fachini*, "*se adoperavano molto in vendere e comprar robe*"; Though traditionally associated with migrant stonemasons, or bargemen (a Christoforo from Sant'Aponal is for example, described as a "*fossorum rivorum*") they worked in these parishes as goldsmiths, cotton workers, shoemakers, dyers, coopers, trimmers, and fruitsellers.³⁵

The "*populo minuto*" of San Silvestro appears to differ only subtly from neighbouring Sant'Aponal; *barileri* (coopers) appear with more frequency in the documents; as we might expect, as their *ruga* was here, running between the waterfront and the *Ruga dei Oresi*.³⁶ We also encounter more *intaidori* (woodcarvers). But again the sheer profilation of trades is immediately apparent. Rialto's influence reverberated right through these central parishes.

Information on the parishes of San Tomà, Sant'Agostin, San Boldo, and San Stin is excessively fragmentary; only very extensive researches in Venice's notarial archives may allow us to dispel the darkness surrounding their population; I suspect they included a decidedly higher proportion of

³⁵ Matteo Bandello quoted in U.Tucci, 'The Psychology of the Venetian merchant in the sixteenth century', in J.Hale (ed.), *Renaissance Venice*, op.cit., 363-64. G.Priuli, *I Diarii*, IV, ed.R.Cessi, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XXIV, Bologna, (1938), 47; on their role in dredging, E.Crouzet-Pavan, 'La città e la sua laguna', art.cit., 49; Savi e Esecutori alle Acque, b.460, f.1v, "*incanti burchiorum..per condur piere cote*", 23.9.1494, *ibid.*, f.2r-4r "*el nettar de sexterii*", 20.3.1495.

³⁶ *Barileri* made barrels, tubs and churns; the distinction between them and *botteri* (coopers) is unclear.

poorer artisans; for instance, at San Stin in 1514, the tenants of the forty-eight houses owned by the Zane family included shoemakers, a cobbler, carder, teaseler, miller, and a weaver; whilst the *Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista* rented to trimmers, *fenestreri*, a tinsmith, cooper, carter and fruitseller. 37

One interesting document survives for a trade specifically related to the *sestiere*: the guildbook of the ferrymen of San Tomà in the Sydney Jones University Library, Liverpool. Sanudo mentions fifteen ferry-stations in all along the Grand Canal; five which crossed to San Polo ("*San Steffano va a San Thomà; San Benedetto va a San Polo; San Luca va a San Silvestro; Sant'Apostolo va al pontil della Frutaria; Santa Sofia va al pontil della Pescheria*"), for which the fare was a *bagattino* (a small coin).³⁸ No one who sought to join the *trageto* (ferry) might be received into it unless he was at least forty years of age; as indeed was the case with the other stations.³⁹ In July 1499, this decree was enforced so younger men would have to enlist in the fleet to earn a living.⁴⁰ Boatmen fell under the supervision of the "*Collegio di Magnifici Signoria dodexe savi sopra datii e mestieri*"; as did the *compravendi-pesce* (fishmongers), whose

37. DS, 1514, San Stin b.70, n.1 (return of Francesco and Gerolamo "*fo di messer Bernardo fo di messer Marcho el prochorador*"; *ibid.*, n.7, presented by Polo Sian, *Guardian Grande*).

38. Sydney Jones University Library, Mayer ms.20.9.83.37; partly published and translated in D.Chambers, B.Pullan, *Venice, A Documentary History*, op.cit., 286-87; M.Sanudo, *Laus urbis Venetae*, trs. in *ibid.*, 10; *idem.*, *De origine, situ e magistratibus urbis*, ed. Aricò, op.cit., 54-55.

39. See for instance, *Milizia del Mar*, b.876, f.2v, 18.9.1487 for the *traghetto* at San Marchuola; also *ibid.*, b.877, for that of Santa Lucia, 11.5.1490.

40. F.Lane, 'Naval actions and fleet organization, 1499-1503', in J.R.Hale (ed.), *Renaissance Venice*, op.cit., 163.

guild was similarly limited to the over-fifties ("*azóche i poveri pescadori de S.Nicoló e Sancta Agnese venuti fossero ala vechieza...cum tal mezo potesseno dur la vita*").⁴¹ Posts on the ferry-stations thus appear to have been a reflection of the wider policy to provide secure employment and special guarantees for craftsmen, mariners and ex-servicemen, as a reward for their service to the city.⁴²

Bearing in mind the traditional importance attached to the relations between the social orders, it is disappointing that it has not been possible to say more. Despite extensive researches, I was unable to unearth evidence that would substantiate friendships between people of very different status at the parochial level. For instance, I was particularly interested in tracing the custom of nobles choosing artisans as a godparent (*sántolo*) but no firm evidence emerged from sources for San Polo.⁴³ The same was true of investigations into kinship solidarity and relations of mutual support and assistance amongst the poor.

41. R.Zago, *I Nicolotti*, op.cit., 145.

42. See B.Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice*, op.cit., 213-215.

43. This custom is mentioned in a statute of August 1505 and in *La Veniexiana* (1536): see *La Veniexiana*, ed.G.Padoan, Editrice Antenore, Padova, (1974), n.59, 306.

CHAPTER 5. THE REDECIMA OF 1514.

So far the relationship between the people of the *sestiere*, their physical environment and "the numberless houses and dwellings which go to make up the city" has not been fully explored; this dimension is unmistakably distinctive of Venice, so characteristic indeed that the city can only be compared with itself.¹ The following chapters discuss property in-depth, initially from the huge survey undertaken in 1514, known as the *Redecima*. This source covers every parish in the *sestiere*, providing a wealth of detail on the function and ownership of property; on living arrangements and tenants; on rebuildings and renovations. It tells us much about the social context within which neighbourhood ties were formed: the extent of property owned by non-residents at Rialto, the existence of only small clusters of family property, the attitude of patrician landlords towards their tenants and even the changing character of the *contrada* of San Matteo.

5.1. THE *REDECIMA*: INTRODUCTION.

In the wake of the catastrophic Rialto fire, "*brusate tutte le scritture*", the Senate ordered the compilation of a massive review of all property owned and rents received on the lines of thousands of irreplaceable documents destroyed: "*Essendo brusate tutte le scritture di l'ofizio di Diexe savii sora le decime, el qual e de l'importantia ben nota a questo Consejo, se die trovar via et modo, con meno strepito*

1. Quote from Alvise Cornaro (1484-1566), from *A Guide to Venetian Domestic Architecture*. "Venezia Minore" by Egle Renata Trincanato, ed. R.Salvadori, Canal Libri, Venezia, (1982), 9.

sii possibile, de reformar quelle et far li catastici, ch'il fondamento di le decime, azi ognun pagi el dover suo per subvenir la terra" (Since all the papers of the *Dieci Savi sora le decime* have been burnt, the consequence of which is known full well to this Council, a way must be found of reconstituting them, with the least possible upheaval and carrying out the *castatici*, the basis of the *decime*, so everyone pays his due).²

The loss was very serious indeed: the *Dieci Savi* were magistrates responsible for recording and assessing various sources of income, chiefly real property, for the levying of the direct tax known as the "tenth" (*decima*). Their "*oficio*", in a cramped four-storey building at the foot of the Rialto bridge, was choked with personal tax declarations, checked against huge property surveys (*catastici*). Those countless documents were central to the entire system of Venetian public finance and represented the most systematic and thorough sources of information collected on Venetian citizens in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Until the introduction of the *decima* in 1463, public finance rested on raising revenue through forced loans (*prestiti*) rather than direct taxation. Those loans were negotiable shares in the public debt, on which the government (from 1382) paid 4% per annum. From 1440 onwards the public debt was in crisis, as bonds plummeted to under

2. Senate decree of 23.5.1514, quoted in Sanudo, *Diarii*, XVIII, col. 214-15.

30% of par value, recovering fleetingly only in 1445. The government resorted to paying one six monthly coupon a year, so bonds effectively earned only 2% instead of 4% per annum. Interest payments were three years in arrears in 1439, eight in 1453. Although the Senate in July 1455 continued to refer to the battered Bond Office as the "principal foundation of our city" it was painfully obvious that the *Camera* was on the brink of collapse ("*brevi lapsura est in totam ruinam*").³

An explicit confession that forced loans had outlived their usefulness was provided by the adoption of stringent financial expedients in 1453, measures that dealt a further blow to the system by sanctioning the partial suspension of interest payments. In February of the following year, the last levies were collected. Nevertheless, the road to the *Decima* was taken with extreme reluctance: the ordinary character of direct taxation was a principle very hard to accept. Patricians had always expected to earn interest from payments and the idea of a forced loan as a way of avoiding direct taxation was to resurface.⁴ The *decima*, however, did not simply respond to preoccupations over the crippling drains on the fisc sparked off by the outbreak of the

3. G.Luzzatto, *Il Debito Pubblico della Repubblica di Venezia*, op.cit., 244-259. The 1455 Senate decree (*Attendum et vigilandum acuratissime est camere nostre imprestitorum, fundamento et radicibus huius gloriosissimi status et libertatis nostre, faveatur et subveniatur, ita ut respirare possit. Nam omnes intelligunt quod, stante ea sicut ad presens, brevi lapsura est in ultimam ruinam*) is published as document 108, (Senato, Terra, 3, c.159r) in *Bilanci Generali*, op.cit., 129-130.

4 J.C.Hocquet 'Guerre e finance dans l'état de la Renaissance (La Chambre du sel et l'amortissement de la dette publique à Venise)', in *Actes du 102e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes (1977). Section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610. Etudes sur la Fiscalité au Moyen Age*, Vol.I, (1979) 109-131, esp. 120-23; Senato, Terra, 4, c.60r, 17.12. 1457; *ibid.*, c.130v, 10.12.1458.

Turkish war but also to worries over fiscal equality; the newly wealthy were evading the remorseless bite of taxation.

Some people who owned bonds in the public debt escaped the requirements to make loans, as they were not placed on the tax registers (the *estimi*) because they were perhaps recent immigrants, foreigners or had made a recent fortune. Thus in 1391 the Senate decreed that they would only receive interest of 3% on their holdings, whilst in 1439 only they were forced to pay a tax of one-third of their interest. Nevertheless, they were still felt to be unduly advantaged. The real novelty of the *Decima* was its rigour: personal assessments were verified against huge descriptive surveys of property: *catastici*, "*acciò el se possi scontrar se quelli haveranno dato in nota haverano dato el justo*" (so that it is possible to check if those who submit returns have stated the truth". A commission of nine nobles was originally elected to tour the entire city, *sestiere* by *sestiere*, recording all annual rents and estimating "how much each house in owner occupation would yield if it were rented out". However, by 1474 the Senate decided to organise *catastici* through the parishes, placing their faith in the local knowledge of parish priests and noble deputies elected in each *contrada*.⁵ Their registers were delivered to the

5. "*Acciò el si possi scontrar..*": DS, b.1, Capitolare, c.22r, 28.7.1474. On *decime* as a source and the history of the *Dieci Savi* see E.Concina, 'La formazione dei catasti', in I.Pavanello (ed.), *I Catasti storici di Venezia. 1808-1913*, Officina Editore, Roma, (1981), 10-28; M.F.Tiepolo, 'Architettura minore e fonti d'archivio: una Ricerca Interdisciplinare', in *Dietro i palazzzi*, op.cit. 25-26, B.Canal, 'Il Collegio, l'ufficio e l'archivio dei Dieci Savi alle Decime in Rialto', *NAV*, n.s.XVI, (1908), 115-150, 297-310.

Governatori alle Entrate or the *Cinque Savi sopra alle Decime*, charged with administering the tax.

As Rialto lay in charred ruins in May 1514, the new *catastici* were justified in exactly the same terms as forty years earlier. As before, all those who had to pay decime were required to submit a sworn declaration within three months (*dar in nota al offitio predito di X Savi con suo sacramento la condition sua*). Each return was a complete list of all a taxpayer's property in Venice and outside the city, giving details on the function and location of buildings, amounts of rent annually received, the names and often the occupations of tenants and the assessed rentable value of properties before the fire. Any new construction, acquisitions or improvements were to be noted in a true and faithful manner (*et li accrescimenti per lor fati, o per comprite, o per altro*). Frequently, but not always, information was supplied on repairs and the history of buildings. The last line of the Senate's proposal stating that returns should be compiled "*distintamente senza alcun diminution ne fraude*" was an admission that they fully expected returns to contain half-truths and downright fraud, as experience had shown. Patricians and *cittadini* displayed the same versatility in adjusting to *decime* as they did to changing economic markets. They rapidly developed sophisticated techniques of tax dodging: the "*mille fraudelentes modis*" denounced by the Senate in 1474.⁶ Such

6. For fraudulent *condizioni*: Senato, Terra, 5, f.122r-v, 15.6.1465; *ibid.*, 6, f.49v, 20.2.1468 (mv=69); *ibid.*, f.94r, 28.7.1470; *ibid.*, 7, f.46r-v, 28.7.1474. By 1469, it was estimated that only a

practices included submitting *condizioni* in the names of wives, mothers or trusts to conceal wealth (1470) or faking sales. Examination of the account books of Nicoló Barbarigo, son of the merchant Andrea, the subject of Frederic Lane's biography, reveal he immediately took advantage of legislation to avoid tax. Laws freed his Cretan fiefs from inclusion, but the *Cazude* officials very quickly noted the discrepancy.⁷ The Ruzzini of Sant'Aponal lodged a dubious appeal against the valuation of their numerous holdings at San Giovanni Crisostomo (Cannaregio) as the assessment had been made in their absence.⁸

We must be especially cautious whenever we find references to ruined or burnt properties in *condizioni*: as "burnt things" were exempt from *decime*, the *Dieci Savi* decreed that in the interests of "*justititia e equità*" they would hear the cases (*le raxon*) of those whose houses were completely destroyed. Those drawn by lot might be totally absolved from paying the *decime* or have their contributions reduced as the officials saw fit. Thus it was clearly in the direct interest of many people to draw attention to the decrepit state of as much property as possible.⁹ As these surveys appear to have been purely external valuations, it was all the more necessary to emphasize degradation not apparent

quarter of the 120,000 *lire* raised seven years earlier could now be collected: *ibid.*, 6, f.67r, 13.8.1469.

7. Noted by R.Mueller in his lecture "Forced loans and the bond market in fifteenth-century Venice", delivered at the Warwick Symposium, Ateneo Veneto, Venice, (5.12 1990).

8. 7.2.1465, Senato, Terra, 5, f.157r: "*cum possessio s.Johanne crisostomi nobilium virorum Rugerii and Petri Ruzini in absentia eorum per duos qui estimarunt contratam..estimata sit illo precio affictus*".

9. E.Concina, *Venezia nell'Età moderna*, *op.cit.*, 180. (DS, b.1, Capitolare, 23.5 1513).

from outside the building. However, *condizioni* were carefully drawn up and make up an invaluable and wide-ranging sample, providing a great deal of detailed information lacking in fifteenth-century sources.

5.2. RIALTO.

The researches of Donatella Calabi and Paolo Morachiello have revealed that 166 properties were declared in the parish of San Matteo and 219 in San Giovanni.¹⁰ As in the census of 1509, the population of these parishes was very low, especially in San Giovanni (see page 62). It is hardly surprising that in the nerve-centre of commerce, shops and warehouses constituted 94% of all property. In neighbouring San Matteo, the figure drops only slightly (to 85%).

The major property-owners in San Giovanni were resident outside San Polo. The *stabile* of Zuan Piero and Marco Gradenigo qd Iusto stretched from Rialto Nuovo into the *cassaleria* and *cale dei barbachani* (*Calle dei Toscani*). Francesco Barbaro di Antonio of San Giovanni Nuovo and Piero Barbaro di Nicholoxe of Santa Giustina (both parishes in Castello) owned numerous *volte* in Rialto Nuovo and part of the barber's shop called the Cage in *Calle dello Storion* (see page 57).¹¹ Sanudo provides a dozen further examples in

10. D. Calabi, P. Morachiello, *Rialto: le fabbriche e il ponte, 1514-92*, op.cit., 209.

11. DS, 1514, San Giovanni Novo, 38; DS, 1514, S. Giustina, 38, (1524). Francesco had moved to San Barnaba by 1517, (S. Barnaba, n.117). However returns also survive for the estate of Francesco's father Antonio (qd Mathio) who possibly lived in San Polo, concerning the *Cheba* (Cage) and "*magazeni, botege e volte*" in Rialto Nuovo, completely destroyed ("*per essere brusade e ruinade, non possono dir altro che sono numeri*"); DS, 1514, San Polo, b.59, 38.

his *Diarii*, including Girolamo di Pietro Duodo of Sant'Angelo.¹²

This was also very much the case in the far more populous *contrada* of San Matteo. The Venier of SS.Apostoli and Santa Maria Formosa owned four houses, six "*case con bottega*", fifteen shops, eight "*camere*" and a storeroom here, on a site bequeathed by Polo Venier in 1368.¹³ Cristoforo Moro qd Lorenzo of San Zuan Degolá (S.Croce), ducal councillor in 1508, also owned numerous *volte* in San Matteo.¹⁴

Rents of shops (*botteghe*) throughout San Giovanni were widely divergent. In the adjacent Rialto Nuovo and *Drapparia*, shops were leased at prices that ranged from under ten ducats to over fifty. Though there were roughly equal numbers of shops right across this range in the *Drapparia*, over 40% of rents were between eleven and twenty ducats in Rialto Nuovo. Along the *Riva del Vin*, shops were either dirt cheap or extremely expensive. Elsewhere in the *contrada*, shops were not rented out for more than forty ducats. These figures leave open the question of just how large those shops were. An anonymous Frenchman noted shops only twenty foot by twelve rented at Rialto for one hundred *scudi* a year. Even those a mere eight foot by three were let

12. DS, 1514, Sant'Angelo, b.15, 32. On Hironimo Duodo qd Piero, see also G.Gullino, 'Girolamo di Pietro Duodo', *DBI*, Vol.42, (1993), 28-30; Sanudo lists Bernardo e Polo Nani qd Zorzi; Alvise Malipiero qd Perazo; ser Francesco Alberto qd Antonio; Ferigo Morosini qd Ciprian; Marco Dandolo qd Fantin; Sebastian Marcello qd Piero; Hieronimo and Vetor Lippomano qd Tomà, Zuan Francesco Morosini qd Piero; Carlo Salamon qd Marco and Ferigo Vendramin qd Lunardo. Only Francesco and Hieronimo Zane qd Bernardo were from the *sestiere* (San Stin): Sanudo, *Diarii*, XVII, col.459.

13. E.Concina, *Venezia nell'età moderna*, op.cit., 29-30.

14. DS, 1514, S.Giovanni Decollato, n.7; *ibid.*, SS.Apostoli, n.60.

at twenty five *scudi* (c.1500).¹⁵ Nevertheless, the distinct impression is that commercial properties of all types were jumbled together, such were the pressures on land here. An undoubted influence was the site of Rialto itself, where expansion was totally restricted by canals.

5.2 DOMESTIC HOUSING.

As I have already stressed, patrician and cittadini families rarely possessed large and compact blocs of property within a single district, in contrast to Florence and Genoa. However, small "family complexes" around a private courtyard can often be identified, such as that built up by the Petriani at Sant'Aponal.¹⁶

Returns additionally reveal an even greater degree of fragmentation. A *casa da statio* is normally understood to refer to a large, residential house, usually owner-occupied. However, these records confirm Juergun Schulz's observation that the term often meant only "a self-contained portion of a larger structure"; in other words, a home within a house. For instance, a *casa da statio* declared by Domenico qd Carlo and Sebastian fo Alvise Cappello in San Polo merely consisted of an upper floor and part of the *portego* (central hall).¹⁷

15. Quoted in E. Concina, *Venezia nell'età moderna*, op.cit., 27.

16. In his will, Antonio Petriani left his two houses in Sant'Aponal to his sons Zanino and Nicolò (27.8.1410); the family arms over the entrance court have also been dated to the late XIV or early XV centuries; Six decades later, Zuana left her brother Nicolò "plures domus" in their courtyard: Esaminador, Preces, 31, f.30v, 29.4.1472.

17. "Domenico Capello fo Carillo et ser Sebastian fo Alvixe mio nevodo [...] (in San Polo) "una casa da statio in corte de cha Capello el soler de sopra con un pezo de portego che nui comprasemo de quei de cha Zen dove abitemo." DS, 1514, San Polo, b.59, 31.

Condizioni show the so-called "*Venezia minore*", (popular/more modest housing), not only "behind palaces", but also "within" them. 18 As is well-known, the courtyard of a larger house often contained a number of outbuildings used for storage and dwellings, hidden from de'Barbari's view.¹⁹ Furthermore, the notion of a "home within a house" is given substance by evidence of widespread sub-letting. In San Polo, Hieronimo da Muzan "*Vicentin*" leased a main floor from Zuane Donà qd Bartolomeo, who lived on the floor above.²⁰ But above all, mezzanine levels were leased (for an average of 11-12 ducats). Whilst Roberto and Zuanne Morosini claimed never to have rented their *casa da statio* in San Silvestro, they did let the mezzanines underneath for sixteen ducats apiece: to Bagatin, a porter and Piero Ballota, a "*fante*" (minor official) at the *Consoli dei Mercanti*.²¹

At times, palaces themselves appear as an aggregate of "*case*". That owned by Zardonexe, widow of Vettor Dandolo qd Benetto (in San Tomà) comprised of a *casa da statio*, storerooms and *chaxette*; the first was rented to the estate

18. Dwellings are almost always described as houses: *casette*, *case da sazente*, *case d'afitto* or *case da statio*. On these various terms, see the excellent article by Juergen Schulz, 'The Houses of Titian, Aretino and Sansovino' in *Titian: His World and his Legacy*, ed.D.Rosand, Columbia University Press, New York, (1982), 77; S.Connell, *The Employment*, op.cit., 83-4.

19. Thus behind Francesco Bragadin's palace in Sant'Aponal were five small houses (*pichole sazente*), each rented out at six ducats per annum: DS, 1514, S.Aponal, b.17, n.33. Tenants included a tailor and a porter. This declaration, like many others, has been badly damaged by apparently having had string passed through the middle to thread the *condizioni* together.

20. DS, 1514, San Polo, b.59, 25; Similarly, Andrea Foscolo in San Tomà rented an upper floor to Nicolò Bragadin: DS, 1514, San Tomà, b.71, 22

21. DS, 1514, San Silvestro, b.65, n.7. For parallels with palaces at San Salvador (S.Marco) see the newly published documents on Palazzo Dolfin on the Grand Canal; M.Tafari, *Ricerca nel Rinascimento*, op.cit., 317, 360; at Santi Apostoli (Cannaregio) see J.Schulz, 'The Houses of Titian, Aretino and Sansovino', art.cit., 83, (Ca' Bollani).

of a nobleman, ZanBaptista Bembo; the others were occupied by a cooper, a second-hand dealer and a Zuane Schiavo. Similarly, the *cittadino* Vettor Marzilian described his house in Sant'Aponal as "*una casa grande da stazio con suo mezadi e una caxeta soto*".²² In the "*chasa grande*" were Giacomo and Antonio de la Ruoda, probably from the *spezaria* of that name, owned by the di Mazi family.²³ Jachomo Marchoso and Simon *panataruol*, nicknamed "*Florentin*", let the mezzanines, whilst Vettor's son and daughter had to make do with a "*magazen*". In the same parish, Benedetto and Bertucci Emo declared three adjoining *case da statio* all apparently incorporated within the same palace on the Grand Canal.²⁴ Shoemakers leased the ground floor of one of the houses "*nel corpo*", whilst Zuan Zusta and his brothers rented the floor above.

But we cannot assume that these situations imply that relations between patricians and the *popolo minuto* went beyond mere sociability.²⁵ In fact, there is evidence from returns that patricians saw these relationships in purely economic terms. Roberto Moresini wanted only foreigners as tenants, *perché terrieri non pagano tanto quanto forestieri*: (Because citizens do not pay as much as foreigners).²⁶ In

22. DS, S.Aponal, b.17, n.12.

23. Their family tree can be found in G.Tassini, *Cittadini veneziani*, mss.cit., 1160.

24. Ibid., n.5.

25. As Anthony Molho has noted for late medieval Florence, sociability between social classes does not necessarily mean that reciprocal bonds existed between them: 'Il padronato a Firenze nella storiografia anglofona', *Ricerche storiche*, XV, (1985), 10. To quote Elizabeth Crouzet-Pavan (on Venice) "*les legs aux voisins populaires des premières décennies du XVème siècle traduisaient, moins le clientélisme d'une société aristocratique, que les formes de coexistence d'une population socialement contrastée*": "*Sopra le acque salse*", op.cit., I, 604.

26. DS, 1514, San Silvestro, b.65, 7 (return of Roberto Morosini fo Alvise fo Carlo).

the 1537 records, there are many angry references to *cattivi sarzenti* and *fuziti*, tenants who fled without paying rent.²⁷ Thus although a *casa da statio* within Bernardo da Canal's house on Campo San Polo was assessed at 36 ducats, he let it by the month to foreigners "a raxon di 50 ducati per anno".²⁸ Similarly, when Andrea fo Bernardo Foscarini of San Polo built a *ruga* (row) of "chaxe piccole ben adornade" in the parish, he rented to foreigners who had fled to the city.²⁹

Francesco Bragadin ripped apart the interior of his palace in order to lease a self-contained *casa da statio*. He converted three "magazen" occupied by mercers and the first floor into servants' quarters, a kitchen and latrine. The *casa* was then rented to the Florentine Alessandro Nerli in 1503 for 76 ducats. Only in one case can we establish a connection with noble poverty. Eugenio Condulmer qd Bernardo was compelled by his straitened circumstances (*per le stretezze delle occurentie cum gran sinistro*) to create a dwelling ("*habitacion*") out of his attic.³⁰ Normally reserved only for servants, attics were notoriously chilly in winter and unbearably hot in summer. Downcast, Eugenio remarked the stairs alone "were enough for a *campanile*".

27. E. Concina, *Venezia nell'età moderna*, op.cit., 17.

28. DS, 1514, San Polo, b.59, n.68. On his father, Nicolò qd Vido da Canal "el dottor", see the profile in Margaret King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*, op.cit., 347; A. Ventura in *DBI*, XVII, (1974) 662-68. A Vido da Canal of San Polo is also documented (6.9.1442, 22.2.1444), in M. Cornaro, *Scritture sulla laguna*, op.cit., 84-5.

29. DS, 1514, San Polo, b.59, 24.

30. *Ibid.*, 18.

Condizioni additionally document that the bulk of property held by patricians resident in San Polo was very often scattered over several *sestieri*. Antonio Morosini fo Michiel possessed a *casa da statio* at Santa Maria Formosa (valued at 82 ducats) and thirty-one "*chasete*" at San Martino, near the Arsenal. Yet his house at San Tom , with two shops underneath, yielded a mere 55 ducats a year. In San Giovanni Crisostomo, the Ruzzini of Sant'Aponal owned what can only be described as a unique private *fondaco*, a complex of 55 warehouses and silk-shops. This plain four-storey building stood where *Rio del Fondaco* meets the Grand Canal just across from Rialto. "All ruined", the warehouses had virtually lain empty for the past thirty years: "*Non se afita pi  a spezie n  a gotoni, ma quelli pochi che se afita a naranze e botame*" (Only a few are let and hold only oranges and barrels; they are no longer rented out for spices and cotton).³¹

Sanudo claimed in 1493 that some *case da statio* fetched 100 and even 110 ducats a year.³² He added that palaces along the Grand Canal were "much sought after, and valued more highly than the others, and above all near Rialto, or St.Mark's. Property is more valuable in one parish than

31. A.Weil, 'The Demolition of the Warehouse of the Persians', *Burlington Magazine*, XIII, (1908), 221-222; DS, 1514, S.Aponal, n.4, return presented by Francesco, also representing his brothers Tom  and Domenegho; See also E.Concina, *Venezia nell'et  moderna*, op.cit., 42; D.Calabi, 'Magazzini, fondaci, dogane', in A.Tenenti, U.Tucci (eds.), *Storia di Venezia*, XII, *Il Mare*, op.cit., 806. Their warehouses also appear to have been used illicitly by German merchants to store linen and hides: G.Thomas, *Capitolare dei Visdomini del Fontego dei Todeschi in Venezia (Capitular des deutschen Hauses in Venedig)*, A.Asher & Co., Berlin, (1874), 193, 224. (5.3.1458, 31.9.1475)

32. "*Affittasse a zentilhomeni medemi tal C tal e CXX pi  ducati all'anno caxe-dicho solum da statio, cioe da habitar*", in M.Sanudo, (ed.Arigo), *De origine, situ e magistratibus urbis Venetiae*, op.cit., 21; DS, 1514, Santa Sofia, 37; B.Cechetti, 'La facciata della Ca'd'Oro', *AV*, XXXI, (1886), 201

another if it is close to these piazze ("*é molto appresiate, et valeno piú delle altre, et massime apresso Rialto, over San Marco, et sono una contrada piú apprezzato il stabile che una altra, per esser vicina alle piazze*"). We would thus expect property values and rents in San Tomá or San Agostin to have been lower than in Sant'Aponal, much closer to Rialto. But the evidence of the *Redecima* contradicts Sanudo.

Very few palaces in the *sestiere* could command a figure of over one hundred ducats a year: they included the empty house of the Doná on Campo San Polo, and Ca'Balbi and Ca'Bernardo in Sant'Agostin and San Polo. Yet Ca'Marcello-family, on the Grand Canal at the ferry-station of San Tomá was valued at only 60 ducats.³³ In fact the average price of a *casa da stacio* in San Polo was far lower, at 54-56 ducats. Moreover, prices very much depended on the size, position, grandeur and quality of buildings: Thus the house of the Turlon (*cittadini*) in *Calle della Pezzana* between Campo San Polo and Rio de Ca'Bernardo was estimated at 90 ducats, yet a *casa da stacio* just across the canal, along *Calle del Pistor* in Sant'Agostin, behind a modest building rented by Aldus Manutius was assessed at only 35 ducats.³⁴

33. DS, 1514, San Tomá, b.71, n.28, Palazzo Marcello dei Leoni, n.a.2810. The house at the beginning of the *Cinquecento* was owned by Hieronimo Marcello qd Antonio, a patron of Giorgione. See D.Battilotti, M.T.Franco, 'Regesti di Committenti e di Primi Collezionisti di Giorgione', *Antichita viva*, Anno XVII, n.s.IV-V, (1978), 74.

34. For the Balbi house, see the return of Marco Balbi fo Bartolomeo, DS, 1514, Sant'Agostin, b.18, n.5; for the Da Canal (Bartolomeo fo Jacomo fo Nicoló), *ibid.*, San Polo, b.59, n.68; For the Turlon, *condizione* of Gaspare Turlon di Almoró, *ibid.*, n.92; for the house in *Calle del Pistor*, *condizione* of Marco Doná, Piero Moro fo Bertucci and Bartolomeo Moro fo Benedetto, S.Agostin, b.18, n.9. On this building see also P.Maretto, *La casa veneziana nella storia della città. Dalle origine al'Ottocento*, Marsilio Editori, Venezia, (1986), 109-110.

The vision of the *Redecima* is, however, dynamic. For instance, the returns document how shops beyond the *ruga dei gioielleri* in San Matteo, which before the fire could not be rented at all, were immediately snapped up and how individuals attempted to exploit the new possibilities of profits by building makeshift shops. Zuan Battista Lippomano declared half a shop at San Giovanni "*la qual se bruso e da poi questi zorni da poi l'è fabrichá de ta[v]ole*" (which was burnt and in recent days was built from planks).³⁵ They show especially the changing character of the *contrada* of San Matteo, least scarred by the fire. In this dilapidated neighbourhood, amongst the ancient and ramshackle houses, there was a sudden resurgence of building activity fuelled by a real need for premises and as those whose properties were undamaged took advantage of rocketing rents. Population pressure played no part. The aforementioned Cristoforo Moro warned that this excessive rise in rents could not continue, (even though he too had increased prices), commenting in his tax return, "*credo, et son certo che questo anno adriedo non se haverá a gran zonta, et questo perche ogni uno fabricha, ita che hará piú volte e botege, che non era prima.*" (I believe, and I'm sure that from this year onward, people won't get a lot more, as there will be more storerooms and shops than before).³⁶ On certain occasions, they are also very revealing of transformations during the previous half-century and open up lines of research.

35. DS, 1514, S.Cassiano, n.47.

36. R.Cessi, A.Alberti, *Rialto. L'Isola, Il Ponte, Il Mercado*, op.cit., n.5, 94-95.

The tax return of Dionisio Malipiero of San Severo (Castello) not only exposes the seamier side of the parish of San Matteo but also its decline as prostitution became a city-wide phenomenon.³⁷ Brothels can be documented at Rialto from 1228, but it was from 1358 that the government attempted to confine and isolate prostitution to a few secluded streets in San Matteo, establishing a fortified brothel (*Casteletto*) in the houses of the Venier and Morosini families (1360).³⁸ A century later, the Casteletto was in ruins and the Heads of the Sesteri, who regulated the trade "agreed that the best solution and the least harmful to the island would be for these sinful women to abide in the houses of the noble Priamo Malipiero": Dionisio's father.³⁹

Those thirty-four *volte* underneath and behind the inn called the Ox were empty in 1514, as they had been for the past fifteen and even twenty years. ⁴⁰ By the terms of his father's agreement with the Heads of the Sestieri, Dionisio was entitled to three *lire* a month apiece from prostitutes who plied their trade within the island of Rialto. However, that income was now negligible. Only the weakest remained: syphilitics, and other wretches merely "hoping to pick

37. Ibid, Document XI, 325 sgg. (DS, 1514, San Severo, b. 64-67, 32).

38. E.Crouzet-Pavan, 'Police des mœurs, société et politique à Venise à la fin du moyen âge', *Revue historique*, CCLXIV, (1980), 241-88, esp. 243; on the Casteletto, G.B.Lorenzi, *Leggi e memorie venete sulla prostituzione fino alla caduta della Repubblica*, op.cit., documents 6,7,8 (26.6 1358, 14.6 1360, 15.12.1360), p.31. On prostitution at Rialto, see the excellent article by G.Scarabello, 'Le "Signore della Repubblica"', in *Il gioco di Amore. Le cortigiane di Venezia dal Trecento al Settecento*, Berenice Editore, Milano, (1990), 10-17..

39. M.Sanudo, *De origine, situ e magistratibus Venetae*, ed.Aricò, op.cit., 142.

40. R.Cessi, A.Alberti, *Rialto*, op.cit., 85. Cf. G.Priuli, *I Diarii*, op.cit., III, 135.

someone's pocket and then flee".⁴¹ Inns like the Cross or the Crayfish were wrecked, whilst the Saracen, the Angel and the Hind, deserted by prostitutes had been altered so they could be leased to "*bone persone*". The Cabriel, Soranzo and Contarini families had also been compelled to convert their houses along the nearby *Calle del Figher*. Dionisio had similarly created several shops out of storerooms, but knew that respectable people would not rent them because of the street's infamous reputation ("*per il cativo luogo e sito*"). According to him, the spread of "*furátole and burchi per li sexteri*" had smothered the trade at Rialto. In fact, Piero Contarini fo Agostin who owned five-sixths of the Hind (*l'osteria dela Cerva*) agreed: the inn stood empty "*fu rispetto le furátole*" ⁴².

These dark and cramped *furátole* which sold coarse wine and cheap cooked food were gambling dens, apparently often run by *scaléteri* (confectioners) ⁴³. *Burche* were the tethered barges from which wine was sold in various ways, including

41. "Salvo che fosi in pegno e in debito su ostarie, che non ha da viver et franzozade (syphilitic) et son restade cum speranza di tuor la borsa a qualche uno e poi scampare via".

42. *Signori di Notte al Civil*, Capitolare A, 1270-1586, f.109r, 18.8.1469: "*Furatole...le qual sono spelonche de ladri e bandizadi*". This register has two parts: folios 1-48 (on paper) entitled "*Leze della autorità delli capi de sestier e casi seguiti a favor delli detti e delli signori di note civil creati in loco, di essi capi de sestier*", and fols.1 (sic)-150 (on parchment). The latter appear to have been an original capitolare of the Capi-Sestieri to which the pages concerning the *Signori di Notte* were subsequently appended. (I wish to thank Patricia Alleston for bringing this statute book to my attention, especially as the original capitolare of the Capi-Sestieri has been ruined by a disastrous restoration).

43. "*Scaleteri non debano tenir ne zuogo, ne furatole*", Dieci, Misti, 15, c.80r, published in G.Dolcetti, *Bische e il Gioco d'Azzardo in Venezia 1172-1807*, Libreria Aldo Manunzio, Venezia, (1903), (Appendix V, 'Legislazione sul Gioco'), 214. Gambling was also associated with barber's shops and this helps explain why *scaleteri* and barbers were targeted by the government in their drive against sodomy. In the 1460's even those supposed to police the trade, the *fanti* of the Capi-Sestieri were running *furatole* and brothels: *Compilazione Leggi, Serie Prima, Capi-Sestieri*, b. 357, f.475v-476r;

against pledges, to the "*povera zente e mendica zente*".⁴⁴ The only mooring permitted in San Polo was at the Frari, granted to a Zuan Doná. The poor of the *contrade* of Sant'Agostin and San Boldo would probably have gone to other *zatieri* at Rio Marin, San Giacomo dell'Orio and along the Riva de Biasio (all in Santa Croce). However, as the *Diese Savi* themselves recognised in 1496, the principal cause of Malipiero's troubles was the exodus from Rialto. "For some years our most sacred laws concerning the abode of prostitutes have been shamelessly broken, and they are now spread all over the city; (and so) the said Malipiero has lost all revenue from his *volte*." (*Za qualche anno anno roto del tuto el pudor di sacratissimi ordini disponenti circa l'habitation dele meretrice hormai diffuse per tuta la terra, le volte del dicto Malipiero hanno perso tuto l'inviamento*).⁴⁵

As early as 1421, prostitution had spilled over into the *Carampane*, an area behind San Matteo, part in Sant'Aponal and part in San Cassiano (Santa Croce), where several canals met. Here we can still find the *Fondamenta della Stua* (a *stúa* was a stew or public bath-house, used to treat some ailments but generally of ill-repute) and the *Ponte delle Tette*, named after the 'goods' displayed by prostitutes.⁴⁶

44. More frequently, wine was sold from rafts, and wine merchants often doubled as timber merchants. In 1452, raftsmen selling wine were blocking much of the Grand Canal between the Ponte della Paglia and San Zaccaria and were ordered out of the "body" of the city, to San Basilio and San Giovanni and Paolo: Senato, Terra, 2, f. 39r, 6.9. 1452. Similarly, in July 1494, rafts were permitted in the "*estremità della terra*" and in 'working-class' areas: Provveditori alla Sanità, b.725, Notatorio, f.20v-21r, 5.7. 1494; f.23v, 15.1. 1494 (mv=1495).

45. R.Cessi, A.Alberti, *Rialto*, op.cit., 281.

46. In 1490 prostitutes were permitted to live and work in *stufe*.

In their tax returns, Vincenzo and Alvise Polani (of Sant'Aponal) declared houses "*in Carampane*" once rented by the month to "*putane*" (whores). A generation earlier, prostitutes are documented occupying the properties of the *cittadini* Joannis de Francisi and Paolo qd Antonio de Ponte (22.8.1480) Ominously, a red-light district is recorded at San Samuele as early as 1421.⁴⁷

From mid century, decrees ordering prostitutes to reside only at Rialto were increasingly futile. For instance, prostitutes had settled in taverns and hostelries around Saint Mark's Square shortly before 1458, and were still a public disgrace thirty years later. In 1503, the Heads of Sestieri listed over thirty centres of prostitution, nearly all in central parishes: in the *sestiere* of San Marco alone there were brothels at San Basso, San Moisè, Sant'Angelo, San Luca, San Salvador and San Samuele.⁴⁸ Although the movement away from Rialto was irresistible, it was not always hindered. In the 1420's, legislation was relaxed preventing prostitutes working in inns and taverns, not least because their presence augmented the yield of the duty on wine. Furthermore, these measures inhibited the running of more or less clandestine brothels selling wine which damaged not only innkeepers but also the fisc.

Condizioni direct research towards other sources and one obvious line of investigation is, for instance, the rivalry

47. See *Signori di Notte al Civil*, 6.5.1421, in G.B.Lorenzi, *Leggi*, op.cit., 277.

48. Ibid, 91.

between noble families for control of the trade. It must be stressed that all these patricians were resident outside San Polo and thus this was not a for local influence. Roberto Cessi's studies revealed that Priamo Malipiero and Antonio Zulian sealed the fate of the *Casteletto* in the 1440's.⁴⁹ Their property was opposite the public brothel and they waged a bitter struggle with its "*patroni*", Zuan Venier and Jacopo Morosini.⁵⁰ The problems of exacting those levies continued. Dionisio appealed to the Collegio three years later to force prostitutes living in six *apotece* (booths) along Ruga Rialto, owned by the brothers Bernardo and Piero da Molin of San Trovaso (Dorsoduro) to contribute 3 *lire* a month.⁵¹ In 1479 he bought those properties, apparently optimistic about possible profits, but he was in desperate trouble by the early 1490's ⁵². The era of Rialto as the undisputed centre of prostitution was over. San Matteo appears as a desolate and run-down area in the second half of the *Quattrocento*, markedly different from the adjacent parishes. This evidence from the *Redecima* suggests that experiences of neighbourhood could vary considerably even within very small areas of the *sestiere*.

49. R.Cessi, A.Alberti, *Rialto*, op.cit., 277. G.B.Lorenzi, *Leggi*, op.cit., doc. 46, p.29.

50 A case before the Petizion court demonstrates that the pact was still honoured in 1468, though already Priamo's agent was harassing prostitutes to pay up: GdP, *Sentenze a Giustizia*, 150, f.122r-126r. 19.5.1468.

51. Collegio, *Notatorio*, 11, f.98v, 7.7 1471. For his acquisition of the Molin property: QM, 61, 67v, 23.10.1479.

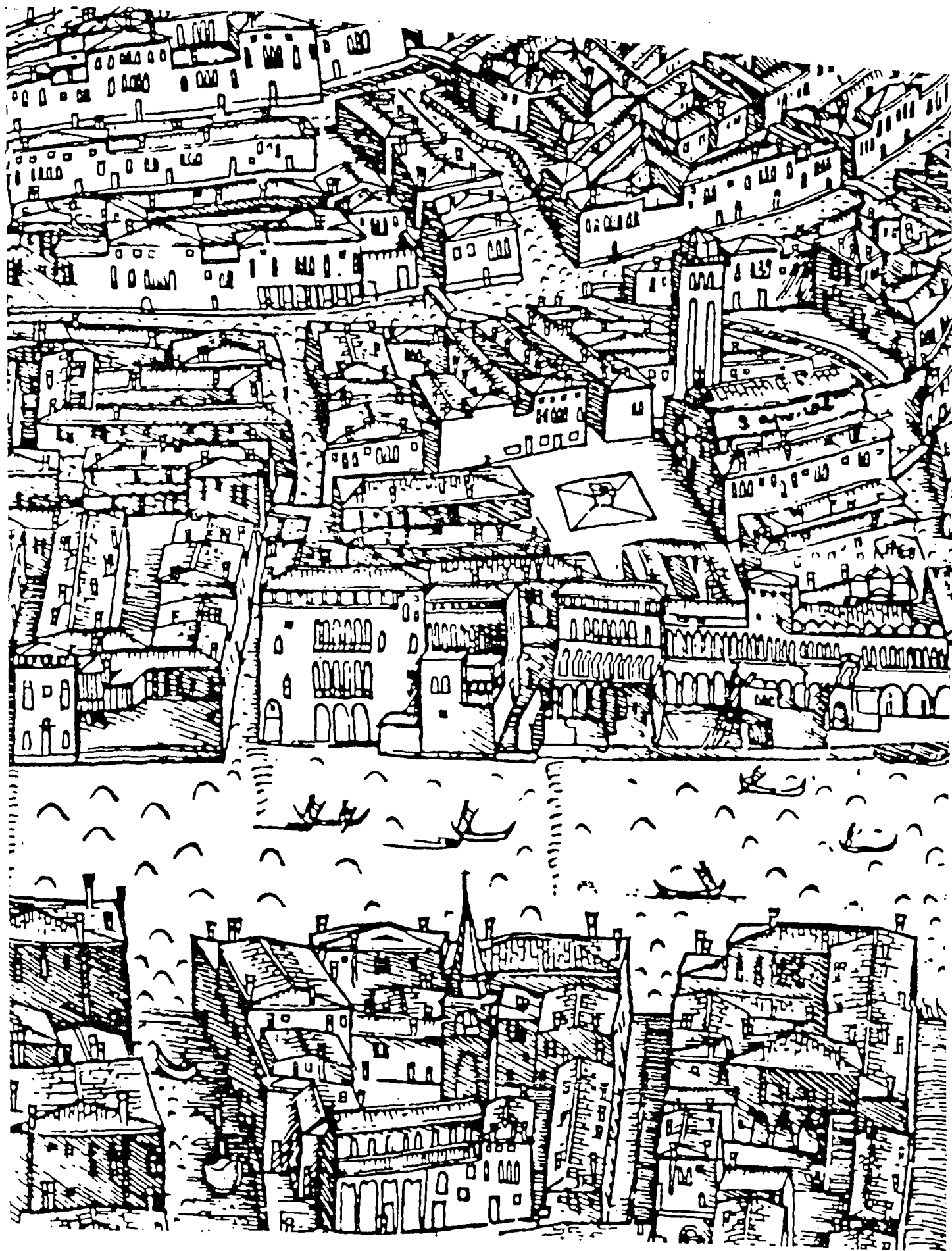
52. He was forced to petition the Senate in 1496. For the full text, see R.Cessi, A.Alberti, *Rialto*, op.cit., 281

CHAPTER 6. PROPERTY IN THE SESTIERE: QUATTROCENTO EVIDENCE

Whilst only the *Redecima* can provide the depth and mass of detail on individual buildings across the whole *sestiere*, *Quattrocento* sources throw new light on particular aspects of property left ill-defined by the survey. The visual parallel of the *Redecima*, Jacopo de'Barbari's view makes plain the striking differences in the fabric of housing from parish to parish. Rialto appears even more of a case apart: the *Provveditori al Sal* were charged with auctioning pitches, *fondamente* and shops, with collecting rents and the upkeep of the island. The unrelenting strains placed on this magistracy had far-reaching consequences for the face of Rialto during the latter half of the century. Furthermore, the records of the Esaminador court and the *Quattro Ministeriali* reveal much about building activity and the management of property. They point to a widespread concern amongst patricians to preserve the core of their patrimony intact in family hands, even though ownership was subject to excessive fragmentation.

The dense and congested nature of housing in its central parishes is immediately apparent from Jacopo's view. The area around the church of San Matteo appears to be a tall, continuous block of interlocking and cramped buildings, masking the maze of narrow alleys that criss-crossed the zone. Only a section of the new route opened up in 1436 between San Matteo and San Cassiano to avoid the public brothel, is drawn.¹ In Sant'Aponal, modest houses are clustered behind the church *campanile*, whilst a series of courtyards are tightly packed together beyond the main axis

1. For the opening of the route : 16.12.1436, MC, Ursa, c.110r, R.Cessi, A.Alberti, *Rialto*, op.cit., 286; E.Trincanato, U.Franzoi, *Venise au fils du temps*, Joel Guenot, Boulougne-Billancourt, (1971), Tavolo IX, 'La conquête de la Terraferme 1423-1485 /b, édifices publics'.



Details of Campo Sant'Aponal from Jacopo de Barbari's view of Venice (1500, Museo Civico Correr)

leading to San Polo (between *Rio dei Meloni* and *Rio della Madonetta*). A courtyard and a tall, imposing building are squeezed behind Ca' del Papa and Ca'Barzizza on the Grand Canal at San Silvestro/Sant'Aponal, both Veneto-Byzantine constructions, testifying to the early urbanisation of this area (the *Pasina*). The bell-tower of San Silvestro is barely visible and a glance across to Sant'Agostin provides an immediate contrast. Here the church stands, unobstructed on three sides, in a small, but uncluttered *campo*. Overlooking the square and flanked by a canal, (now filled in and named *Rio Terrá della Parrucchetta*) is a small block of row houses, known as *case da sazentí*.

Housing developments of this type are noticeably few and far between in the parishes close to Rialto, because land was so scarce, but a number can be identified in San Tomá, San Stin and San Giovanni Evangelista. At San Tomá, *case da sazente* occupy the site where the *Scuola Grande de San Rocco* now stands and parallel blocks run between *Campo dei Frari* and *Rio della Frescada*, just by the *Ponte della Donna Onesta* (*Calle Gallipolli/Calle Gozzi*). These *contrade* are not yet saturated with housing, and it is noticeable that here the waterfront is not completely built-up. Wide *fondamente* skirt *Rio della Frescada* and *Rio dei Frari*. Nevertheless, open space is still minimal, but it is interesting that a sort of square was created, along *Rio dei Frari* (now *Rio Terrá dei Nòmboli-Calle dei Nòmboli*), close to *Calle dei Saoneri* crossed by two bridges.² The area was clearly a thoroughfare

2. It is extremely difficult to work out which noble families had property in this area. A mid-XV stem of the Bembo family is visible along *Rio Terrá dei Nòmboli* (n.2195), but references are also made to a demolished Palazzo Bernardo in the vicinity, "almost opposite the street leading to *Ponte San Tomá*" where Paoletti maintained the Contarini had their palace and coat-of-arms, at the beginning of *Calle dei Saoneri*, close to where *Calle Centani* widens out; A.Rizzi, *La scultura esterna*, op.cit., n.307, p.308; G.Tassini, *Edifici di Venezia distrutti o volti ad uso diverso da quello a cui furono in origine destinati*, Tip. Cecchini, (1885), p.67; G.Pavanello (ed.) Marco Corner, *Scritture*, op.cit., 147.

between *Campo San Tomá*, (via a wooden foot-bridge, now *Ponte San Tomá*) and *Campo San Polo*, and down to the Grand Canal (Palazzo Tiepoletto, Palazzo Giustinian Persico). Only the tiny *contrada* of San Boldo is obviously still an island, surrounded by *Rio San Boldo*, *Rio del Megio*, and the present-day *Rio Terrá secondo* and *Rio Terrá della Paruchetta*. The area known as the *Carampane* in Sant'Aponal, similarly encircled by canals, appears as a relatively undeveloped enclave within a *contrada* where practically all available land was occupied. The only access to this insalubrious quarter was *Ponte Storto*, emphasizing its isolation.

One source at least provides a benchmark for assessing these signs of uneven development: the valuations (*stime*) of property undertaken at the end of the *Trecento* and in 1425 and 1469.³ Between the *stima vecchia* and the survey of 1425, the total value of property in the district rose by some from 49,027 to 55,933 lire (*di grossi*) (14.1%).⁴ But property rose markedly only in the *contrade* of Sant'Agostin and San Stin (34.8% and 28.2%). These increases pale in comparison with the neighbouring parishes of San Simeone Profeta and San Simeone Grande (both in Santa Croce) and are dwarfed by the boom in areas such as Santa Lucia and San Maria Maddalena (Cannaregio), where values shot up by over 135%.⁵ Although these figures must be treated with caution, they clearly suggest that Sant'Agostin and San Stin were substantially built-up by the late fourteenth century and that the following three decades or so saw advances towards the elimination of vacant

3. The 1425 *stima* is drawn from the chronicle of Donato Contarini, (copied in Sanudo's *Vite dei Dogi*) and that of 1469 from the *Cronaca Alberegna*; A.Wirosbisz, 'L'attività edilizia a Venezia nel XIV e XV secolo', SV, VII, (1965), 308-09 and Tavola I, 312-14, Tavola II, 314.

4 But in all the other *sestieri* the increase was greater: by 29.4% in Cannaregio, 25% in Dorsoduro, 23.9% in Santa Croce, 18.3% in San Marco and even 45.2% in Castello. However, those totals are somewhat misleading. The parish of Santa Lucia has been assigned to Santa Croce rather than Cannaregio.

5. The percentage rise at S.Symeon Propheta was 52.5%, whilst at San Simeon Grande it was 62%.

land.⁶ Growth in the central parishes was modest and especially scant at San Giovanni di Rialto.

Yet in 1425, San Silvestro alone still accounted for one-quarter of the total value of property, and San Giovanni Elemosinario for a further 19%. The *contrada* of San Stin accounted for only 4.4% and tiny San Boldo for even less (3.2%). Such was the imbalance that the three central parishes of Sant'Aponal, San Silvestro and San Giovanni Elemosinario made up over 57% of the the entire value, whilst the three neighbouring parishes of San Boldo, San Stin and Sant'Agostin constituted a mere 14.5%.

6.1 RIALTO.

However, as Sanudo was careful to note, stores and warehouses at Rialto paid rent "for the most part to St. Mark's". And these properties were hit hard by intense financial pressures on the Salt Office, under whose jurisdiction the "island" fell.⁷

Annual profits from the sale of salt, reckoned at 80,000 ducats in 1465, were already earmarked in the mid-fifties towards shoring up the tottering public debt, for the repayment of loans made by banks to the state and for naval construction. But the real turning-point came in 1457.⁸ On December 17th, the Senate passed a motion requiring the Salt Office to deposit 30,000 ducats every six months with the Procurators of San Marco before all other expenditure, an obligation swiftly transformed the following year into a monthly payment of 5,000 ducats.⁹ From now on the Salt

6. We cannot be sure that the valuations were based on the same criteria and thus directly comparable; however it is most likely that these valuations are based on the *lire di grossi*, a money of account equivalent to 10 ducats rather than *lire di piccoli*, whose value fell against the ducat in this period.

7. This magistracy also had jurisdiction over the Ducal Palace and the *Lazzaretto Vecchio e Nuovo* (the pesthouse and convalescent hospital on the island of Santa Maria di Nazareth). They were also responsible for the repair of the sea-defences, the sandbars of the *lidi*, spending every year "*assai ducati..in pallificiade*": (6,000 ducats in 1424, over 10,000 in 1469, 10,800 in 1490).

8. Senato, Terra, 5. c.146v.

9. On the Procurators' deposit see D. Malipiero, *Annali*, op.cit., I, 11, 14; 17.12.1457, Senato, Terra, 4, c.60r. See also c.130v, c.141v, 172r; J.C. Hocquet, art.cit., 120-23; idem, *Il Sale e la Fortuna di Venezia*, trs.

Office was expected to play a central role in shouldering "any extraordinary expenditure of the state". At the height of the gruelling conflict with the Turks (1463-69), which sorely tried the city, the Salt Office was stretched to the limit.¹⁰ Three thousand ducats a week were diverted to the Arsenal during 1464. After the disastrous fall of Negroponte (1470), an additional five hundred ducats a week were removed "*de deposito Salis*" to satisfy the Arsenal's soaring demands for money.¹¹ In one year alone, the Provveditori were already indebted to Venetian bankers to the tune of 83,313 ducats and borrowed a further 226,661 ducats from the Soranzo, Veruzzi (Guerucci) and Civran to cover such expenses as gunpowder, salt-petre and the back-pay of the Republic's galley oarsmen, ending their simmering unrest (1465).¹²

The repercussions of these financial strains on the Salt Office were immediately felt at Rialto. In December 1453, alarmed by the "infinite expenses" of the *Provveditori* on alterations and repairs, it was decided that henceforth tenants should foot the bill for any work.¹³ Worse followed. All work was suspended in December 1471 and the magistrates were only permitted to spend the paltry sum of one hundred *lire di piccoli* on the ordinary maintenance of shops, stores and houses.¹⁴ During the War of Ferrara (1481-84), the Salt Office's book-keeping was reformed. A new ledger was created in which all payments, work both completed

G.Iotti and L.Megna, Jouvence, (Roma), 1990 of *Le Sel et La Fortune de Venise*, vol II: *Voiliers et commerce en Mediterranee 1200-1650*, Publications de l'Université de Lille, (1979).

10. The war was costing around 1, 200, 000 ducats a year: G.Cozzi, M.Knapton, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, op.cit., 301-2.

11. "*Constitutus est his periculosis temporibus Arsenatus noster in tanta pecunia extremitate ut in maiore esse non posset*", Senato, Terra, 6, f.110r-v, 12.11.1470; "*el ne astrenze la incredibile necessità che ha la caxa nostra del Arsenale de haver danari per far le cosse necessarie*", ibid., f.156r, 28.1.1471 (mv=72).

12. On these bank loans: R.C. Mueller, "*Quando i banchi No' Ha Fede, La Terra No'ha Credito*", art.cit., 281-3; E.Concina, *L'Arsenale della Repubblica di Venezia*, op.cit., n.106, 73 (on the Soranzo loans); Also F.Ferrara, '*Gli antichi banchi di Venezia*', art.cit., 177-213, 435-66.

13. 11.1.1453mv (=1454), Senato, Terra, 3, f.97v.

14. 17.12.1471, Senato, Terra, 6, f.151r.

and in progress had to be registered; contractors were to keep proper accounts and send them for audit by three *Savi sopra gli Uffici in Rialto*.¹⁵

In the magistrates' order of priorities, the "*palazzo ducal*" clearly preceded Rialto. This imbalance became increasingly marked, after the east wing of the palace, containing the Doge's private apartments, was "torn asunder" by fire on September 14th 1483.¹⁶

Rialto was bustling, cramped ("*ala zornada é impazada*") and run down by mid-century; the market was suffocated; the "island" clearly lacked the appropriate elegance and *comodità*. Yet the Republic did set great store by the need to "*conzár et bellizzar della terra*". In 1459, the Senate proposed to tear down the portico sheltering the shops of the *telaruoli* (sellers of linen and cotton) to provide a new loggia "*pro comoditate nobilium civium et mercatorem nostrorum*".¹⁷ Thus in the following decades, the patriciate, blind to the needs of the market, displayed an excessive zeal in convincing the Salt Magistrates to clear away numerous stalls and shops. In December 1487, the stalls of *tellaroli*, *stringheri*, and *taiacalze* were forcibly removed. Yet immediately afterwards, new stalls sprang up immediately opposite.

As Roberto Cessi saw, "Rialto's needs were many", but necessity forced the city to be content with expedients, "as it was impossible to confront the problem with more radical cures". He needed only to point to the rehousing of the offices of the *Giustizia Vecchia* in the first floor of the Old *Beccarie* (1457)

15. 14.2.1482 (mv=1483), Senato, Terra, 8, f.189r.

16. On the rebuilding, directed by the stonemason Antonio Rizzo, see G.Lorenzi, *Documenti per servire alla storia del Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*, Venezia, (1868). Significantly, "*per la streteza de i tempi*", a majority of Senators were initially only prepared to spend 6000 ducats on a simple restoration

17. An extended discussion in R.Cessi, A.Alberti, *Rialto*, op.cit., 67-69.

and the refurbishment of those of the State Treasurers, the *Camerlenghi di Comun* (1465). Both magistracies were desperately short of space; the noisy office of the *Camerlenghi* was crammed with money-chests ("*in modo che li é tanto impazado*"). Whilst the *Giustizieri* were allocated an adjacent room, used as an armoury by the *Cinque alla Pace*, the *Camerlenghi* had to make to do with a few partition walls being cobbled together "*cum puocha spexa*".¹⁸ Furthermore, when the seat of the *Camerlenghi* was entirely rebuilt in 1488, it was at the expense of the four Rialto banks: the Garzoni, Lippomano, Pisani and Matteo Agostini.¹⁹

Unsurprisingly, the government was constantly searching ways to increase revenue from Rialto; by mid-century, the state's property across the bridge in San Bartolomeo had been sold off. The Senate was bombarded by complaints from "*plures veneti et fideles nostri*", angered by shops being auctioned at "excessive prices" and the "many scandals" over those secured by *grazie* (September 1451); the Council decreed that if tenants paid one-third over and above their rent, they would be granted an eight-year lease.²⁰ Two years later, an extraordinary impost was levied on all those in "*appotece, volte, solaria, et stationes*", "in the island of Rialto", except barbers and cobblers "*et similium*", who earned a living by manual labour.²¹ During the Ferrarese War, "attentive to the need for money", Constantin Priuli and Francesco Michiel, "*Savij a Terra Ferma*", proposed the sale of banks, shops and stalls in Rialto "*a raxon de 8 per 100 neti de pagar decime*",

18. 9.9.1457, 14.5.1465: R.Cessi, A.Alberti, *Rialto*, op.cit., 71-72, and Document VIII, 320-21.

19. D.Malipiero, *Annali*, op.cit., II, 684. See also P.Hamilton, 'The Palazzo dei Camerlenghi in Venice', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, (1983:3), 258-71. On those banks, F.Lane, 'Venetian Bankers 1496-1533', in *Venice and History*, 71.

20. 13.9.1451, Senato, Terra, 3, f.3r.

21. 7.12.1453; F.Besta (ed.), *Bilanci generali*, op.cit., doc.102, 121-22 (from Senato, Terra, 3, c.89r);

reserving the right of "*la Signoria nostra*" to buy them back.²² An advance of two years' rent was also required when shops were auctioned. ²³ Domenico Malipiero noted indignantly in the autumn of 1483, "all the *"volte"* of Rialto have been mortgaged at the rate of 28% a year".²⁴

6.2. PROPERTY MANAGEMENT.

Evidence of property sales rarely shows up in the *Redecima*; but Elizabeth-Crouzet Pavan has recently reconstructed the rhythms of sales between 1470-78 from the *Preces* series of the Esaminador court. As a number of *Quattro Ministeriali* registers also cover these years, it is possible to feel the pulse of the management of property in those eight years from these two sources.

Property sales were sluggish. A mere fourteen entire *case da statio* were sold in the *sestiere* in those years.²⁵ In fact, according to Pavan there were only 106 sales in the whole of Venice during those years. As in tax returns, a *casa da statio* was often only a home within a house.²⁶ The figures for *case da sazente* are even weaker: thirty-seven changed hands in only six sales. Even if we acknowledge that eighty per cent of the sales of *case da statio* are recorded between February 1476 and May 1478, eight of which in a single *Preces* register, the fact remains that the number of sales is strikingly low. This implicitly suggests that

²² M. Sanudo, *Le Vite dei Dogi*, ed. Aricò, 23.9.1482, f.149r, 286; repeated 23.5.1483, Senato, Terra, 9, f.20r; also Sal, b.6, reg. 4, 16.8.1483, all those with "*voltas/apotecas/magazenos/banchos e statii a nostro dominio solventes ducati 8 de affictu et voluerint huic ad dies XV mutuare nostro dominio ducati 100 et sie pro rata octo per centenario*", f.1v; also *ibid.*, 3.9.1483. See also R. Cessi, A. Alberti, *Rialto*, op.cit., 291 ('La proprietà statale').

²³ Senato, Terra, 8, f.166r, (23.4.1482).

²⁴ "*è stà impegnato tutte le volte de Rialto a rason de 28% al anno*", D. Malipiero, *Annali*, op.cit., I, 257.

²⁵ 18.5.1471, *Preces*, 31 f.72v; 24.1.1471 (mv=1472), *Preces*, 32, f.21r; 15.11.1474, PSM, Ultra b.253; 5.2.1476, *Preces*, 35, f.77v; 12.10.1476, QM, 61; 15.2.1476 (mv=1477), QM, 61; 14.11.1476, *ibid.*; 7.5.1477, *Preces* 36, f.13v-14r; 23.5.1477, *ibid.*, f.20r, (also QM, 61 s.d.); 30.5.1477, *ibid.*, f.21r; 4.6.1477 *ibid.*, f.22v; 10.6.1477, *ibid.*, f.25r; 28.8.1477, *ibid.*, f.46v (also QM, 61, s.d.); 16.1.1478, *ibid.*, f.68v; 2.5.1478, *ibid.*, f.83r (also QM, 61, s.d.); One house appears to changed hands twice.

²⁶ For instance, Bartolomeo de Soris and Domenico Michaelis paid 1700 and 1500 ducats respectively for *case da statio* "with its mezzanine" in San Tomà and Sant Agostin: *Preces*, 36, f.68v, 16.1.1478.

patricians were reluctant to allow property to pass out of their "*casa*".

Only around *Campo dei Frari* can we detect sudden changes in ownership. In the space of three years, twenty-nine *case da sazente* were sold. The Procurator Gerolamo Pesaro qd Luca sold a block of twelve houses to the executors of Zuan Coppo qd Michele in July 1470. A further nine were sold to his colleague Francesco Bernardo qd Polo in the same courtyard: the "*curia ascallis*". (August 1471). The Bernardo coat-of-arms can still be seen across the front of *Sottoportegho de le Scale*, the only access from the square.²⁷ Francesco lived at San Polo, and probably owned the aforementioned Ca' Bernardo.²⁸ From at least 1430, a line of the Contarini possessed eight row houses in the nearby *Calle Gozzi*. Piero Contarini, who rented them from his mother Chiara, spent 700 ducats "*nel fabbricar la casa in solér*" i.e. in transforming one into a larger house on two floors facing onto the *campo*. The entire property passed in 1473 to the Monastery of San Lorenzo.²⁹

But the *Preces* series holds another surprise: the sales of even parts of houses were also infrequent (a mere six sales can be traced). Here family strategies are apparent. In November 1473, the noble Filippo Tagliapiera guaranteed his wife's dowry by granting Christina part of two houses in San Polo, one of which had been sold by the *de Ultra* division of the Procurators of San Marco in their settlement of his mother's estate.³⁰ His sister then sold him three-fifths of a house in San Polo for 180 ducats.

27. A. Rizzi, *La scultura esterna*, op.cit., n.344, 401. Bernardo complained in February 1474 over a gutter installed by Zuan Donà qd Alvise in a property "*chiamada corte delle schale*" and "*campo dei fra' minori*", QM, 53, f.46v. (3.2.1473 mv)

28. His tax declaration of 1514 (San Polo, n.7) is badly damaged: but his possession of a "*chasa grande de stacio*" is decipherable.

29. These buildings stood at n.a. 2939 and 2940. For the sale, Monastero de San Lorenzo, b.1. cc.172r-175r, 178, 185-6 and G. Gianighian, P. Pavanini, *Dietro i palazzi*, op.cit., 126-27.

30. Esaminador, *Preces*, 33, f.39v, (17.11.1473).

Preces registers fill out the picture of a concern to preserve the core of the patrimony intact, by documenting numerous instances of the exchange of portions of houses and the tendency to hold inherited shares of property in common. Really quite complicated patterns of ownership persisted. Elena Chabriel's sons came into the property of Chataruzza Priuli, widow of Andrea, as well as a part of inheritance of Michele Priuli (through Ixabella, daughter of Giacomo della Giudecca) in March 1477, apparently both shares of a palace on the Grand Canal at San Tom .31 Yet less than two weeks earlier, half of that house had been sold at auction to the estate of Jacomo Marcello. Similarly, we know from the *Redecima* that the Barbaro family owned part of the barber's shop at the Sign of the Cage on the *Riva del Ferro*. Yet Marina Bembo qd Mattio of San Zulian sold her half-share of that shop in June 1470 to Mathio and Antonio qd Polo Loredan of San Lorenzo.32 By 1489 the *barberia de la Cheba* was still divided between Piero Barbaro, the estate of Antonio, Mattio's son and Marco Loredan.33 This fragmentation of ownership reached its extreme with the Querini family's holdings in San Matteo, shared between Nicol  qd Polo and the sons of Michael (Piero, Zuan and the *commissaria* of Marco). Thus Zaneta, Piero's widow took possession of a mere one-sixth of the Star Inn, as part payment for the restitution of her dowry (1477).34

31. QM, 59, f.33v, 5.3.1477: the *de Supra* division of the Procurators di San Marco as executors of the will of Michele de Priuli sold a house "*intrando al secondo soler con una parte del portego e chamere*" for 700 ducats; *ibid.*, f.33r, the same as executors of Chataruzza, widow of Andrea de Priuli assigned her property in San Felice and San Tom  to Zuan Chabriel "*e fradeli*", sons of Elena (14.3.1477); On 10.3.1477, Zuan fo Andrea Chabriel and brothers proclaimed a deed ("*pubblico scritto*") of 4.7.1477 by which Ixabella daughter of Iachomo dela Zudecha, "*erexedueria*" of Michiel de Prioli, granted them her share of a "*caxa da stacio mesa nel confinio de San Tomado sora Canal Grande*", QM, 61.

32. Esaminador, *Preces*, 31, f.21v, (2.6.1470).

33. QM, 71, f.81v, (20.11.1489).

34. QM, 60, f.17v, 27.6.1477; *ibid.*, f.29r, Settember 1477.

Venetian law protected the family patrimony, by guaranteeing relatives the first option to buy when any property was sold. Rights of pre-emption were also extended to neighbours (*lateranei*). Only after thirteen months had passed without a sale being challenged, did the change of ownership become definitive.³⁵ The same desire to keep property intact is reflected in testaments, where several patricians in the *sestiere* confined inheritance to their direct male descendants through entails and *fideicommissa*. Bernardo Balbi of Sant'Agostin instructed in his will that his heirs must never "*vender ne impegnar ne alienar*" their palace; Benetto Michiel insisted that his property "*non esca mai de cha'Michiel*".³⁶

Yet the *Preces* registers also document the widespread use in these years of property as dowry security. For instance, the Esaminador court ordered in July 1471 that Francheschina Bondumier, wife of Zanotto (of San Tom ) be granted property "*in assecuratione*" of her dowry to the value of 4000 *perpera*: a mezzanine and *hospitio* under Francesco's house and two storehouses in the courtyard.³⁷ However, because a widow was legally entitled to reclaim a large proportion of her dowry to support herself, this practice potentially threatened to fragment the patrimony.

35. Buying, selling and transferring property had been considerably simplified by a Great Council law of December 1413. After agreement had been reached, permission had to be sought from the Esaminador judges, and the court *commandador* then notified next-of-kin and neighbouring property owners. He proclaimed that so-and-so had "invested" a certain property "*sine proprio*". Two documents needed to be drawn up, a contract of sale and the transfer, both fairly simple: MC, Leone, c.22r, 24.12.1413, part published in A.Pertile, *Storia del Diritto Italiano*, Vol.IV, *Storia del Diritto Privato*, Padova, (1874), n.65, 234; B.Pitzorno, 'La carta mater e la carta filia', Part II, NAV, n.s. XVIII, (1909), 110-113.

36. Benetto Michiel, testament, 3.4.1466, PSM, de Ultra, Commissarie, n.192, n.1; Bernardo qd Agostin Balbi, 5.8.1467: AN, Notary, Bartolomeo de Camucci, b.385, 97.

37. Esaminador, *Preces*, 31, f.85v, (12.7.1471). Other examples include Polisena Lion and her daughter Paula (qd Bartolomeo), who were both assigned properties on the same day (February 14 1477) in San Cassiano and San Matteo de Rialto: Esaminador, *Preces*, 35, 82r-v, (14.2.1476mv). *Cittadini* were no exception: Nicol  Orso qd Zuan of Sant'Aponal granted his wife an upper floor and two storerooms in his house, as well as a *casa da sazente* in San Rafael.

These opposing tensions can be seen in the specific example of the Zane family. The enduring attachment of various lines of the Zane to the parishes of San Stin and San Polo has already been described. It will come as little surprise that the home declared in the *Redecima* by the grandsons of the Procurator Marco Zane, Gerolamo and Francesco qd Bernardo had been within the family for at least four generations, as indeed had been the nucleus of their extensive properties grouped together in San Stin, one of only a handful of large complexes in the city. The brothers owned forty eight houses let to craftsmen and women:- Grazia, a weaver; the wives of a barber and miller; coopers, cobblers, butchers, carders and boatmen.³⁸ Homes with working premises attached (*case e bottege*) were let to a smith, shoemakers and fruiterers for between seven and thirteen ducats a year. They leased land to the *Scuola Grande de San Giovanni Evangelista* and two yards, one of which was rented a stonemason. "*Chomo abito in le chaxe de missier Marin Zane a San Stin*" testified another "*taiapiera*", Francesco di Bernardo in 1489.³⁹ Yet they also possessed shops and houses at San Boldu, Sant'Agostin, San Chasan, San Bartolomeo, San Giovanni Nuovo, San Severo, San Zulian and a wood-yard at Santi Apostoli.⁴⁰ This pattern of property-holding, with houses scattered over various *contrade* also stretched back at least three generations. An early sixteenth-century copy from the "*catastico vecchio*" undertaken in 1371 reveals that Marin qd Almorò owned property to the value of 500 ducats in San Stin, 300 ducats in San Silvestro, 50 ducats in San Polo and 40 ducats in San Zulian. His father bought seventeen shops and two *volte* in San Silvestro in

38. DS, 1514, San Stin, n.1.

39. 20.7.1489 (Atti Bernardo Morosini", quoted in B.Cecchetti, 'Nomi di pittori e lapicidi antichi', art.cit.

40. See also Girolamo's will (4.11.1542), ms Zane, PdC 1111, unnumbered folios and E.Concina, *Venezia nell'Eta Moderna*, op.cit., 30 (discussion of Gerolamo's 1537 tax return, ASV, DS, 1537, b.99, n.176).

1346. This pattern, in varying degrees, was reflected across the various branches of the family in the *sestiere* in the later *Quattrocento*.

By the terms of a property division in March 1471, Marin qd Nicolò Zane of San Stin was allotted two small houses under Ca'Querini "*in Pasina in San Silvestro*" along with five shops "*suxo la strada va a Rialto*". But when his son's widow, Ingoldisia, exercised her right to the restitution of her dowry, Nicolò had relinquish this property (March 1476).⁴¹ Within four years the whole of Ingoldisia's estate passed out of the family's hands. Her daughter, Marieta, died in 1477 and the five shops were sold for 1650 ducats by Lucrezia, another daughter, to her son-in-law, Piero qd Anzolo Gradenigo.⁴² Finally in March 1480, Ingoldisia sold him the remainder.⁴³

However, this branch of the Zane family continued to hold properties in the parish. On August 21 1482, Bianca, widow of Nicolò Zane and Ingoldisia's sister-in-law inherited two shops along the *pelizzaria*, the narrow street of the furriers in San Silvestro (first documented in 1305). Four refurbished shops in the same street were let by her relatives Alvise and Giacomo qd Francesco to Bartolomeo and Antonio dela Zerdech (della Giudecca) throughout the 1460's.⁴⁴ At the end of the century, Marin's granddaughter, Christina, inherited "*la caxa e volta dei panni...in pellizzaria*" from her father and uncle (Nicolò). Moreover, ever since 1368 an assortment of their cousins from the other San Stin branch had also leased houses and storerooms from

41. 17.3.1476, Esaminador, Investizion, VII, f.67r;

42. Esamiador, Preces, f.20v, 24.5.1477.

43. Esaminador, Preces, 38, f.29v, 2.3.1480.

44. 10.10.1460, Esaminador, Preces, 25, f.1v.

the Monastery of San Lorenzo, at the side of the *Osteria della Scimia* in the neighbouring San Giovanni.⁴⁵

Ties with in-laws were instrumental in shaping this pattern of property-holding. Andrea and Bernardo Zane inherited one-quarter of the estate of Zuane Morosini qd Piero (see page 114-15) The previously unexplored papers of the Zane family in the Biblioteca Correr document that Bernardo bought Zuanne's "caxa" at San Paternian from the magistracy of the *Rason Nuove* for the considerable sum of 6210 ducats (May 1471).⁴⁶ That house was rented to the great printing syndicate of "*Zuan da Colognia, Nicolas Jenxon e compagni*", formed in late May 1480 and known simply as "The Company", due to its dominance of the market.⁴⁷ Similarly, Francesco qd Giacomo Zane (of Sant Agostin?) inherited a palace "*sopra el traghetto de San Tomá*" when his father-in-law, Maffio Michiel, died without male heirs.⁴⁸ When his son Alvise married the following year, Francesco granted his wife Cecilia one-third of a *chaxa* in Sant'Agostin as security for her dowry.⁴⁹

6.3 BUILDING ACTIVITY

45. Monastero di San Lorenzo, b.1, II, codice F, *Hostaria della Scimia*, 1208-1627; b.12, *Hostaria della Scimia*, 1277-1494; The arms of San Lorenzo and the Zane can still be seen at the junction of the calle with the Casaria (ns.204/205), A.Rizzi, *La scultura esterna*, op.cit., ns.14,15, 334. See B.12, lease of 23.8.1462 (for Francesco and Marco Zane qd Andrea). The lease then passed to the Francesco and Gerolamo qd Bernardo, (Marco's grandsons). Their volte in San Giovanni, valued at over three hundred ducats, were reduced to ashes in 1514.

46. 13.3.1471, BMC, Mss.Zane, Pdc. 1119/2. G.Tassini refers to a demolished gothic palace of the Zane at San Paternian in his *Edifici di Venezia distrutti o vólti ad uso diverso da quello a cui furono in origine destinati*, Reale Tipografia G.Cecchini, Venezia, (1885), 49.

47. BMC, Mss.Zane, Pdc, 1152/3, Dispute between Andrea and Gerolamo Zane and "John of Cologne, Nicolas Jenson and company", 29.3.1490. On Jenson: M.Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson and the Rise of Venetian Publishing in Europe*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford and Cambridge, Mass., (1991), passim.

48 He married Michela Michiel, daughter of Maffio qd Fantin, nicknamed "sarza". Francesco also inherited a *casa da sazente* in San Zulian Preces, 35, f.32, 9.8.1476. Within a month, however, he sold his son Alvise a house with eleven *sazente* in San Tomá and a "*domus parva a statio*" in San Zulian for 2500 ducats. For unknown reasons the same sale is also recorded in Preces, 36, f.13v-14r, 7.5.1477.

49. 13.5.1477, QM, 61; But less than four months later, he had sold houses in San Cassiano, Santa Maria Mater Domini (*in curia corte nuova* for 1288 ducats) and Sant'Agostin. The evidence suggests that all Francesco's ventures had failed: Francesco Giustinian "*el cavalier*" received the Sant'Agostin house "*per parte da quel die aver da lui*" (in part payment for his debts): Esaminador, Preces, 36, f.31r, 5.7.1477; *ibid*, f.42v-43r, 22.8.1477; f.46v, 28.8.1477.

A key problem, which as yet cannot be fully answered, is the relative importance of new building compared to renovations and repairs. The disappearance and radical alteration of so many fifteenth-buildings and the lack of documents, forces us to approach the bulk of construction in the later fifteenth-century indirectly, through the complaints of aggrieved neighbours (*chiamorí*). For example, the extension of Thomá and Alvisé Bondumier's palace at San Tomá precipitated a stream of protest from February 1490. Zanotto raged that they could not raise "the ridge of the roof above the courtyard or over the Grand Canal".⁵⁰ Lunardo Dandolo qd Piero of San Polo also excited protest, when he extended the height of an existing wall and pierced it with a number of a joists, spanning a private alley. Worse still, he extended the second storey of the house, installing a new window (1483-84).⁵¹ However, the overwhelming majority of complaints lodged were generic: over work in course ("*suxo un lavorier*").

In certain zones, however, it is still possible to pinpoint development, above all in San Polo along Rio de Ca'Bernardo and Rio de San Antonio. The palace of the Bernardo family (c.1450) still stands on the canal and bridge named after them, and their coat-of-arms is prominently displayed. Next to this house is Ca'Sanudo. The latter, because of its capitals and freizes, is dated to the mid-1440's. On Campo San Polo, the Palazzi Soranzo appear to have been re-built around mid-century.⁵²

50. 29.2. 1491 (mv=1492), QM, 65, f.58r: 25.3. 1492, PSM, Ultra b. 52 ;2.5. 1492, QM, 65, f.64r. Similarly, the building of a staircase in a shared courtyard and building work on empty land overlooking the Grand Canal at San Polo by Zanoto, Cabriel and Tadio Querini qd Francesco was vigorously opposed by their relatives in May 1477 and 1482: Proprio, Lezze, 9, f.22r, 7.5.1477; Proprio, Estraordinario e Giudice Delegato, f.11v-12r, 17.4.1482; GdP, Sentenze a Giustizia, 177, f.172v-177r, 26.8.1483 (Nicolò versus Zanoto, Chabriel and Tadio); *chiamorí* of 21.3.1482 and 22.3.1482: QM, 65, 13r, f.19v.

51. Giudici di Proprio, Estraordinario e Giudice Delegato, r.1, f.55v-56r, 14.5.1483; 22.2.1482mv (=1483), QM, 65, f.24r; *ibid.*, 5.3.1483, f.26r, 12.7.1484, f.33v.

52. Trincanato's map also indicates a Ca'Tiepolo built sometime between 1423-85 at Ponte della Madonetta. Table IX, *La conquête de la Terre ferme*:c/palais 1423-1485.

There is also firm evidence of building by fits and starts, and we must bear in mind the prohibitive costs of construction in Venice, where so many materials needed to be brought in by barge.⁵³ A number of buildings can be identified where Renaissance elements have crept into façades or where several 'orders' of arches co-exist. Palazzo Bernardo (n.a.1319) along *Rio delle Beccarie* has a Gothic watergate, a three-light early Renaissance window with Gothic columns and a Renaissance first floor. Palazzo Soranzo which lines *Rio San Stin* (n.a.2521) has a Renaissance doorway, and a Lombardesque four-light window on the first floor, wedged between six Gothic capitals and a Gothic balcony. On the second floor the three-light window has simple Gothic pointed trefoiled arches.⁵⁴ But who owned these palaces and who was employed to do the work remains unclear.

Renovations must have been common in areas urbanised for centuries. Two Gothic windows on the *piano nobile* of the Veneto-Byzantine Ca' Barzizza and a further two underneath testify to rebuilding after a fire in the early *Quattrocento*.⁵⁵ As Ruskin wrote "half of this house is visibly modern and there is a great seam, like the edge of a scar, between it and the ancient remnant". When Francesco Sforza was granted the palace "*Del Cagnon*" in *Calle Corner* (San Polo) in June 1456, his ambassador wrote to Milan lamenting the palace's state of decay and describing it as "*in molto mal ordine e de techiame perché strapiove, e de sollari per alcuni travicelli rotti, et alcuni banchi in la sala toti roti, marzi e guasti*" (in a terrible

53. Ground floor walls, capitals, cornices and marbles were also frequently re-used when palaces were rebuilt.

54. Examples quoted by E.Arslan, *Venezia gotica*, op.cit., 318, 322, 330-31, n.133, 336.

55. L.Urban Padoan, 'Palazzo Barzizza Torres', *Itinerari veneziani*, *San Polo*, scheda 8. The interior was also radically altered later in the century. Information kindly provided by Professor J.Schulz. (From a sketch by Canaletto it appears that the dormer window and top floor were added in the eighteenth century)

state: the roof leaks, several floor joists are broken and benches in the hall are damaged, worm-eaten and rotten).⁵⁶ The only record of repairing a palace in the *sestiere* in the early Renaissance coincidentally also refers to a house in *Campo San Polo* owned by the estate of Nicolò Tron in 1505-08, but this document runs only to a few folios.⁵⁷

6.4 RENTING.

A notice is nailed to the corner of the church of San Lio in Giovanni Mansueti's narrative painting of a miracle that took place on the bridge opposite: it reads "*casa da fitar*" - (house to rent).⁵⁸ If renting was widespread amongst the patriciate and *cittadini*, this complicates the whole question of local loyalties. But we can only guess as the evidence is so scrappy. In the series of rental contracts gathered in the *Cancellaria Inferiore* only two documents exist for survive for the whole of our period. In San Polo, we do know that Vettor qd Zorzi Marzilian let his house for five years to Francesco Mazi & Sons *spezieri* in late 1477. Similarly, Marco Lezze informed the Petizion judges in May 1478 that he and Piero Vatazi had agreed "to rent a house fifty-fifty: in which both would live with their family and pay half the rent and that is what we did. We first leased *Ca' Lando* at San Barnaba (Dorsoduro) for forty ducats a year. Three years later we rented *Ca Barbarigo* at San Vio (Dorsoduro) for 60 ducats" (*de tuor una*

56. Quoted in L. Beltrami, *La Ca' del Duca sul Canal Grande ed altre reminiscenze sforzesche in Venezia*, Milano, (reprint 1950), 18. (Antonio Guidobone, letters of 5.6.1460 and 12.7.1460). (this work was originally published at Milan in 1900 and 1906). Like the architect Benedetto Ferrini sent six months later, he grumbled about the exorbitant costs of Venetian workmen: *qua se paghino ad raxone de mezzo ducato el dì, cum un tristo lavadore*.

57. BMC, Mss Pdc 2016, f.41r-42r on the work, accounts at c.48v, 53r-69r, details on day wages c. 53r-54r. Sources for other sestieri are more informative e.g. the accounts of the repair of Francesco Giustinian's palace at San Moisé (1477-79): PSM, Citra b.115 and the goldsmith Bartolomeo Gruato's *Libretto di Fabbriche* (1486-1508), *Scuola Grande della Misericordia*, b.23, 'Commissaria Gruato'.

58. The painting is part of the narrative cycle of the Miracle of the True Cross of the *Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista*. This detail was noted by Ludovico Zorzi in his contribution to the volume *Venezia e lo spazio scenico*, Biennale Di Venezia, (1979), 81-109, ('Intorno allo spazio scenico veneziano').

caxa ad fitto per mitade: nel qual intrambe duo habitasse con le suo fameio e pagar de fitto per mitade e chusi fexe :tolsse prima la chaxa de cha Lando a San Barnaba per ducati 40 al'anno/ tre anni dapoï tolsse la chaxa de cha Barbarigo a San Vido per ducati 60"). They stayed here only three years.⁵⁹ Moreover by law, leases had to be short-term ("from one year to a maximum of five years").⁶⁰ The residential patterns of patricians may have been far more mobile than we yet appreciate.

59. GdP, *Sentenze a Giustizia*, 168, f.6r-v, 5.6.1478. Professor Juergun Schulz has also unearthed a handful of contracts relating to the leasing of the Patriarchal Palace in the 1470's and 1490's.

60. M.Sanudo, *Laus urbis Venetae*, quoted in D.Chambers, B.Pullan (eds.), Venice. *A Documentary History*, op.cit., 6.

CHAPTER 7. NEIGHBOURHOOD.

7.1. INTRODUCTION.

In public and private documents, Venetians generally identified themselves as "from the parish of": but they never mention the *sestiere*. In fact any evidence of attachment to this district is conspicuously lacking: in all the hundreds of wills I have read, only that of Piero qd Nicolò Diedo of San Boldo, one of the *primi della terra*, mentions the *sestiere*: funding a perpetual mass-benefice in the parish church, he laid down that his executors should choose a priest "of good repute", "*con condition che stia nel sestier de San Polo*".¹ *Sestieri* were administrative rather than social units. The contrast with Florentine *gonfalon*i or wards is striking.

The term "*vicinanza*", normally translated as "neighbourhood" was rarely used and then only to express a vague idea of "surroundings", or "vicinity": thus in 1465, the physician Hieronimo de Leonardis and the nobles Daniele Barbaro and Anzolo Pesaro complained that the stench from an enclosure where rubbish was dumped in Campo San Paternian "infected" the surroundings (*per esser...caxon de amorbar la visinanza*).² Instead when describing their immediate neighbourhood, people referred to the parish.

Can these parishes be regarded almost as microcosms of the city as a whole? Did once-vigorous neighbourhood loyalties wither? These are difficult questions which refuse to go away, and which evidence from this *sestiere* alone cannot fully resolve: though it can suggest a fresh agenda. The search for written evidence of

1. *Cedula* written at Corfu on 19.10. 1489, legally proved on 9.3.1491 (by a *grazia* of the Great Council, 6.3.1491) AN, Testamenti, Notary A.Savina, b.1237, n.98. Also *ibid.*, Notary, A.Marsilio b.1211, n.1034. For Pietro, also described as from Sant'Agostin, see the entry in *DBI*, vol. XXXIX, 778-81 (F.Rossi).

2. 2.8.1465, Collegio, Notatorio, 10, f.130r.

neighbourhood ties, however, involves the sifting of large volumes of records for relatively little concrete data. At times it is absolutely necessary to draw on evidence from other *sestieri* to suggest parallels with San Polo.

First, F.W.Kent has made us aware that neighbourhood can be seen not as a "structure" or even as a "category", but as a relationship embodied in real people and a real context. Accordingly, we need to take account of the very real differences in the physical fabric, size, population density and social profile of parishes in this district, let alone in Venice as a whole, which shaped the experience of neighbourhood.

Recent scholarship on Renaissance Venice has seized on the idea that traditional ties to parishes were loosened as social divisions hardened and as Venetians turned to more institutionalized forms of association. During the course of the fifteenth century an ideology of hierarchy substituted an ideal of community, claims Professor Romano. In this chapter I will argue that the remaining evidence from San Polo is ambiguous.

The sources also suggested that neighbourhood ties formed part of a complex web of allegiance; to family, parenti, trades, friends, and often confraternities. If we simply examine neighbourhood alone, we obscure when these loyalties worked together and overlapped; when they existed awkwardly side by side and when they conflicted.

"*Vicini qui possessiones habent in parochia ubicumque habitarent*": this seemingly innocuous line from the Venetian statutes brings us immediately to an important distinction. The term *vicino* meant simply "neighbour" in contemporary Florence. But when Venetians spoke of *vicini*, they did not have the *popolo minuto* in mind: *vicini* were the property-owners of the

neighbourhood, who could in fact reside outside the parish. Only they had a stake in the elections of the parish clergy: an anonymous French treatise (c.1500) reads "Venetian parish priests, when posts become vacant, are elected by their parishioners, that is to say by those who have houses and other property in the parish".³ This observation is echoed in Sanudo. ("*li piovani delle contrade si ellezzeno dalli parocchiani a ballotte- zoè da quelli che hanno stabele in ditte contrade*").⁴ The *popolo minuto* were quite simply excluded from exercising authority locally.

7.2 CITIES IN MINIATURE?

"*Le botteghe che sono sparse per l'universo corpo et circuito d'essa città,...ogni contrada ha...la piazza co'pozzi, i forni, i magazzini del vino...e finalmente d'ogni altra cosa bisognevole all'uso umano*" (Shops are strewn all over the whole body and circuit of this city,...each parish has a square with a well, bakeries, wine-shops and, after all, has everything else necessary for life), proudly wrote Francesco Sansovino in his *Venetia città nobilissima* (1581). Venice's parishes were thus equated with cities in miniature, each with its own services and resources.

This idea was bound up with another: the image of a people who never lacked anything despite the barrenness of the site. At the dawn of the *Duecento*, the *Cronaca Altinate* spoke of the city as "abounding in all things";⁵ "Everything is in abundance except

3. "Les curés des parroisses de Venise quant ils vaquent son eleuz par les paroissiens, c'est à dire par ceulx qui ont maison et aultres biens stables et immuables en la dicte parroisse": Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Fonds Français, mss. 5999.

4. "Parish priests are elected by parishioners by ballot i.e. by those who have property in the parish"; M.Sanudo, *De origine, situ e magistratibus urbis*, op.cit., 31. A decree of the Patriarch Maffeo Girardi reads, "*Quod in electionibus fiendis de plebanis, primum fiet capitulum per titulos, deinde parochianos suo more faciant electiones, et quod illic non adsint nisi qui habent domus in ipsa parochia vel habitent vel non habitent. Non habentes domos et tamen illic habitantes si sint reputationis quod possint dare vocem, et alii qui sunt reputationis, quamvis illic habitent, non admittantur*" (20.11.1474), in G.Capelletti, *Storia della chiesa di Venezia*, op.cit., 279.

5. Quoted in M.Muraro, A.Grabar, *Venice*, Portland House, New York, (1987), 103. (first published as *Treasures of Venice*, Skira for Horizon Magazine, The World Publishing Company, Cleveland, Ohio, (1963).

sometimes fresh water", "*et qui in questa Terra non vi nasse alcuna cossa, tamen di tutto..se ne trova abbondamente*", wrote Sanudo; Pietro Casola, on his way to the Holy Land, was also struck by the abundance of Rialto's markets: even if he judged the wine disgusting and the meat wretched.⁶ To justify their description as cities in miniature, the *sestiere*'s parishes would have to provide the basic necessities of life: bread and water.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were around 2700 cisterns in the city, but only a hundred were public.⁷ The distribution of these wells was not only uneven, but also woefully inadequate in some parts of the city. Only when the *popolo* were dying in droves in periods of drought, did the government order the building of ten new wells, or pay for a hundred bargeloads of water to be distributed by parish priests "*per sexteria*".⁸ There was a clear imbalance between the "*viscere*" of the city and its margins, "*fuori del corpo de questa terra*". San Polo was well provided, but only two wells served the whole of the sprawling parish of San Pietro di Castello; there were three times as many wells in the eastern sector of the *sestiere* of San Marco as there were in the *contrada* of San Geremia (Cannaregio), an area of the same size.⁹

6. In Casola's description, "les brocards, les épices se mêlent aux poissons, la viande s'additionne aux pois et aux cerises, tout s'entrepasse, s'amasse, s'accumule, la richesse du monde, en un flux ininterrompu, paraît se déverser sur le marché vénitien. "Inestimable", "tellement", "plein", "stupéfiant", "incroyable", "le plus abondant"..en une vingtaine de lignes, les virtualités du champ énonciatif s'épuisent..il ne peut exprimer, mesurer, quantifier". E.Crouzet-Pavan, 'Récits, images et mythes: Venise dans L'Iter Hierosolymytain (XIVe-XVe Siècles)', *Mélanges de L'Ecole Française de Rome*, XCVI, n.1, (1984), 526; See above all, M. Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494*, University of Manchester Historical Series V, Manchester, (1907), (with an excellent introduction, 1-113). See also 'The abundance of good things in Venice', from Newett, 128-129 in *Venice, A Documentary History*, op.cit., 167. This idea was not of course, limited to Venice. For instance, Francesco Guicciardini wrote in the opening pages of his *Storia d'Italia* of Italy being the queen of all other provinces, not least for "the abundance of all things useful to mankind".

7. M.Costantini, *L'acqua di Venezia. L'approvvigionamento idrico della Serenissima*, Venezia, (1984), 42.

8. G.Boldrin, G.Dolcetti, *I pozzi di Venezia. 1015-1906*, Comune di Venezia, Venezia, (1910); 5.9. 1469, Senato, Terra, 5, f.35v.

9. E.Concina, *Venezia nell'età moderna*, op.cit., 170-71.

The baking trade in Venice was divided into two crafts: the *pistori*, who kneaded, shaped and baked the dough and the much poorer *forneri*, who simply baked dough already mixed by householders. At prices regulated by the Grain Commissioners, *pistori* sold the cheaper and more popular black bread ("*el traverso*") as well as *pan bianco* and *fugazze* (focaccie).¹⁰ A complete list survives of all the shops run by *pistori* in 1471: and it is quite clear that not every *contrada* was served. In the *sestiere*, the parishioners of San Boldo would have gone to Piero de Santin at *Ponte della Madonnetta* (San Polo) or Valentin's at Sant'Agostin (twenty years later, the nearest bakery was beside the shop of Aldus Manutius on Campo Sant'Agostin).¹¹ We get a strong impression that this parish was anything but self-sufficient. San Boldo was far too small: it barely covered a few hundred metres and had less than four hundred inhabitants in the 1509 census. *Campo San Boldo* is better described as a bare *campiello*, with room for a well and little else.

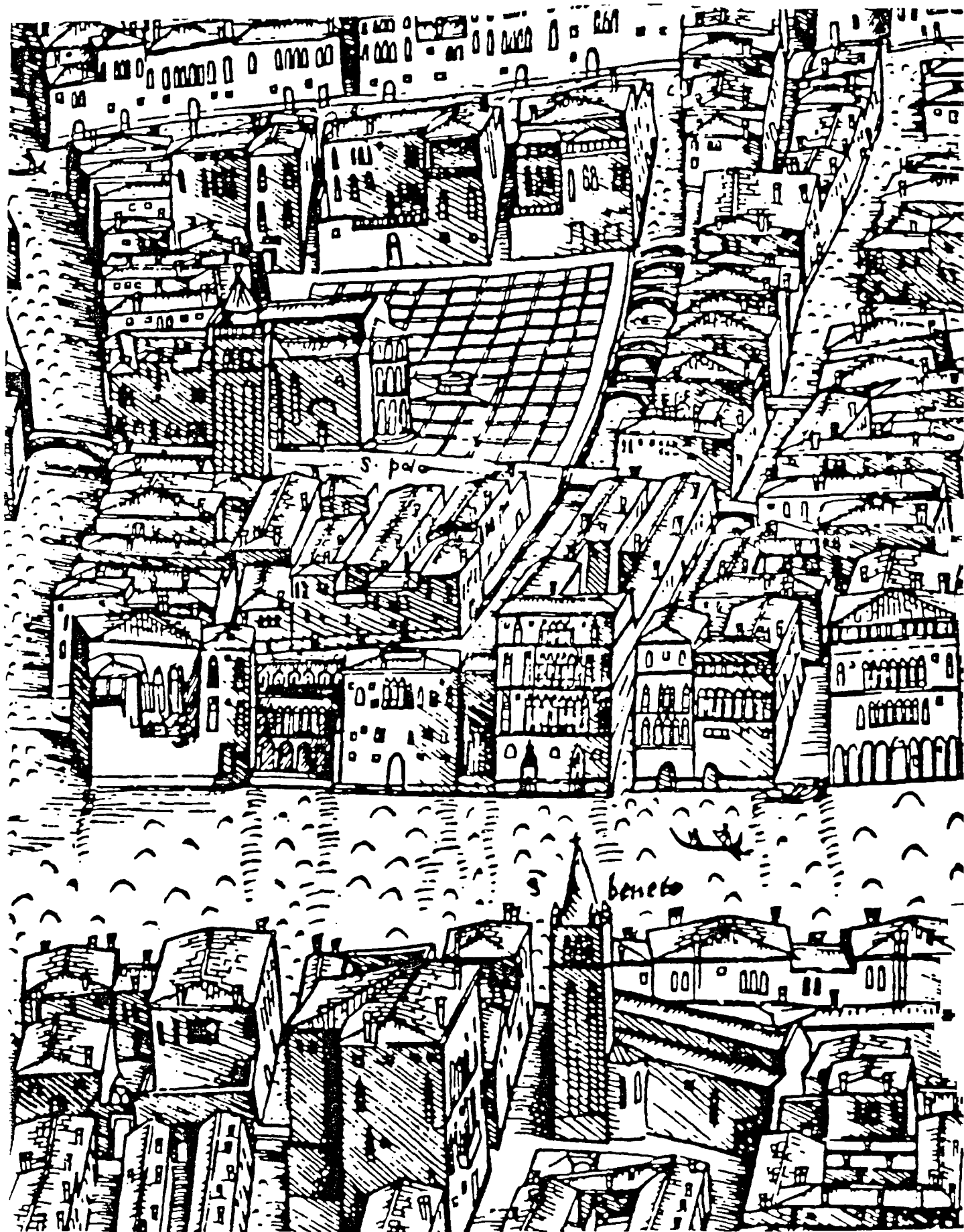
7.2 NEIGHBOURHOOD: EVIDENCE FROM SAN POLO.

The churches of Sant'Aponal, San Polo and San Silvestro underwent restoration or alterations during the course of the century. Can these be seen as powerful signs of the vitality of these parishes?

Under first Francesco Pavoni (c.1407) and then Marco Piacentini (1430-55), the Romanesque *campanile* of Sant'Aponal was restored. San Polo was partly rebuilt. Our understanding of the changes to this church depends on attempting to piece together its original

10. M. Aymard, *Venise, Raguse e le Commerce du Blé Pendant la Seconde Moitié du XVI^e siècle*, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. VI^e Section. Centres du Recherches Historiques. Ports-Routes-Trafics XX, Paris, (1966), 72-75; M. Della Valentina, 'I mestieri del pane a Venezia tra '600 e '700', *Atti del Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti*, Classe di scienze morali, lettere e arti, Tomo CL, (1991-92), 113-217.

11. B. Cecchetti, 'La Vita dei Veneziani nel 1300: il Vitto', *AV*, XXIX, (1885), 299-300; M. Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius. Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, (1979), 92.



Details of Campo San Polo from Jacopo de Barbari's view of Venice (1500, Museo Civico Correr)

Veneto-Bzyantine fabric, almost entirely obliterated by successive alterations.¹² A church on this site possibly dates from the ninth century and is first mentioned in a document of 971. Its Veneto-Bzyantine character is reflected in the basilical ground plan with three naves and in de'Barbari's view: the rear apse, with its three tiers of blind arches jutting out into the *campo* (demolished in 1586), calls to mind the twelfth-century church of San Donato at Murano in the lagoon. A half-figure of St. Paul, whose head was grafted onto an antique statue, a work executed circa 1435-1445 by Bartolomeo Bon and workshop crowns the portal. The right nave was probably rebuilt around this time, judging from its brick façade and elegant roundel. It flanks the *salizzata* which leads to San Tomà and faces the isolated *campanile*, dated 1362: in contrast to the original church, designed to be viewed from Rio San Polo. Though no building records survive, we can point to local patronage with some confidence through evidence from other *sestieri*.

When the church of Santa Maria Formosa (Castello) was rebuilt from scratch between 1492 and circa 1504, state finance was not forthcoming: this exciting project, employing the leading architect of the day, Mauro Codussi, was funded out of donations to the parish. Even Antonio Dalbona, a mariner, left half a ducat "*pro fabrica pale altaris maioris*". Above all, it was made possible by a testamentary legacy from a noble parishioner, Andrea Bragadin.¹³ Polo Trevisan, Antonio Grimani and Polo qd Lorenzo Donà, all patrician residents, ~~An altarpiece~~ supervised the project, securing a loan in November 1491 from the Procurators of San

12. E. Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, op.cit., S. Apollinare, Vol. III, 246, ns 32, 38; U. Franzoi, D. Di Stefano, *Le Chiese di Venezia*, Alfieri Editore, Venezia (1976), 20.

13. Bragadin was also a leading contributor in the rebuilding of the Observant Franciscan convent, San Francesco della Vigna. "*Andreas Bragadinus sexaginta auri pondo in id opus contulit*", noted M.A. Sabellico in *De Venetae Urbis situ libri tres*, quoted in M. Tafuri, A. Foscari, *L'Armonia e i Conflitti. La Chiesa di San Francesco della Vigna nella Venezia del '500*, Einaudi, Microstorie 6, Torino, (1983), 13, n.2, 90.

Marco, the Bond Office and the banks.¹⁴ An altarpiece ordered from Bartolomeo Vivarini by the parish priest Andrea del Sole (1473) is still *in situ*. In this remarkable triptych, Del Sole is depicted "sheltering under the Madonna's mantle surrounded by the parishioners who had helped fund the commission".¹⁵

San Giovanni in Bràgora (Castello), was rebuilt from 1475 in the Gothic style but completed in the final decade of the century by a Renaissance presbytery. Three outstanding altarpieces, *Madonna Enthroned* by Bartolomeo Vivarini, a *Christ Resurrected* by his nephew Alvise Vivarini (1492-4) and Cima da Conegliano's *Baptism of Christ* (late 1492-1494) and a marble screen still grace its interior. All this was presumably paid for by accumulated bequests from parishioners, especially as Cristoforo Rizzo, parish priest here between 1479 and 1495, is firmly documented as having commissioned the altarpieces.¹⁶

State finance was only granted for the rebuilding of churches seen as of exceptional civic and symbolic value. On February 1461, the Senate assigned 1,000 ducats for the reconstruction of the church of San Zaccaria, stressing that the temple lay "in the centre and the eye of our city" and the annual visit of the doge, ("*cum nobilibus honoribus et triumphis ducatis nostri*"). Similarly, the Council of Ten made some monthly payments during initial phase of the rebuilding of the church of San Salvador "in the middle of the centre of this very great city".¹⁷ At Rialto, San Giovanni Elemosinario and San Giacomo were such churches; the

14. L.O. Puppi, L.Puppi, *Mauro Codussi*, op.cit., 111, 206; R.Gallo, 'Precisazione archivistica a Mauro Codussi *Arte Lombarda*, XIV, II, 151-153; further documents in G.Ludwig, 'Archivalische Beiträge zur Geschichte der venezianischen Malerei', (1905), *Jahrbuch der k. preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXVI, Beiheft, 1-159 (not seen).

15. P.Humfrey, *The Altarpiece in Renaissance Venice*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London (1993) 91.

16. Idem., *Cima da Conegliano*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, (1983), 79-95.

17. On San Zaccaria: L.O. Puppi, L.Puppi, *Mauro Codussi e l'architettura veneziana del Primo Rinascimento* *Electa*, Milano, (1977), 52, and n.165. On San Salvador, M.Tafari, 'Republican pietas, Neo-Byzantinism and Humanism. San Salvador: A Temple in visceribus urbis', in *Venice and the Renaissance*, op.cit., 17-23.

Doge enjoyed patronage rights over the former, whilst the latter believed to be the oldest church in the city, founded in 421.¹⁸ The Salt Magistrates were responsible for their upkeep: Andrea de Pasce was employed to paint the whole facade of San Giacomo in 1493 ("*da la cima fin abasso ai piombi*").¹⁹

What was true of San Polo and Sant'Aponal was not true of the *sestiere* as a whole. San Silvestro, in urgent need of repair at the turn of the fourteenth century, was rebuilt by the Patriarch of Grado, Zuan Dolfín, and reconsecrated in August 1422.²⁰ In 1485, it was enlarged, swallowing up the Ognissanti oratory behind the apse. However, as this church and its revenues were firmly in the grasp of the Patriarch, lay involvement must have been slight. The other churches quietly deteriorated: Sabellico noted with disapproval the aged San Boldo and Sant'Agostin's leaning bell-tower and grave state of decay ("*multa senio confecta acclinituri*").

The signs that much building was going on in the district's parish churches are contradictory. There is no evidence of mass disenchantment or of patronage structures falling apart. Yet the real vigour lay elsewhere. All these projects were dwarfed by the building of the huge Frari, completed in 1443 and the strong demand for chapels and burial sites there. Nor did patronage abate after mid-century. A magnificent choir, with 124 stalls, by Marco Cozzi was in place by 1468, to which a marble screen made in the workshop of Bartolomeo Bon by Pietro Lombardo was added in 1475. This private patronage was city-wide: the heirs of Federico di Nicolò of San Luca (d.1378) had rights to the Corner chapel

18. Thus in 1394, the Great Council spent 140 ducats on the famous clock on its belltower.

19. R.Cessi, A.Alberti, *Rialto*, op.cit., n.3, 75 (23.9.1493). Under the supervision of the famous sculptor-architect Andrea Rizzo, he was to colour and gild the clockface.

20. However, the bell-tower, destroyed by a whirlwind in 1410, was still not rebuilt in 1500 (it is missing from Jacopo de Barbari's plan).

(founded in 1417) who commissioned a triptych from Bartolomeo Vivarini (dated 1474); The brothers Nicolò, Benetto and Marco Pesaro of San Benedetto constructed and endowed a funeral chapel in the sacristy in memory of their mother Francheschina, ordering a stunning altarpiece from Giovanni Bellini a decade later (1488).²¹ The monuments to Doges Francesco Foscari (c.1460) and Nicolò Tron (April 1476-late 1479) heralded the Frari's great prestige.²² Only a few of the leading benefactors were from the *sestiere*: Andrea fu Francesco Bernardo of San Polo established a family chapel in 1469 and Elena Emo of Sant'Aponal, the widow of Jacomo, who requested a perpetual daily mass.²³ Families who owned palaces nearby are conspicuous by their absence.²⁴ But there can be no doubt that both in prestige and in the scale of patronage, the Frari eclipsed all the *sestiere*'s parish churches.

The first great confraternity of the district, the *Scuola Grande de San Giovanni Evangelista* also outstripped parish churches in its building programme. At mid-century, the *albergo* was "renovated at the brothers' expense" and a new altar commissioned (May 1457). By 1467, the room had a new ceiling. Pietro Lombardo was employed eleven years later to transform the narrow *campiello* in front of the building. By designing a remarkable marble screen, he created an external atrium. Later the *Scuola* sought to outdo the rival *Scuola di San Marco* by ordering a daringly novel double-ramp staircase from Mauro Codussi (August 1495). Carpaccio's narrative

21. Both chapels are discussed in R.Goffen, *Piety and Patronage*, op.cit., 24, 30-40.

22. On the tombs : A.M.Schulz, *Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino and Venetian sculpture of the early Renaissance*, New York State University for the College Art Association of America, New York, (1978), (Foscari) ; idem., *Antonio Rizzo: sculptor and architect*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey (1983), 45ff, (Tron).

23. On the Bernardo chapel: R.Sartori, *Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari*, Padova, (1956), 52-53; A triptych for the chapel was commissioned from Bartolomeo Vivarini, dated 1488. It is still *in situ*; See also the will of Elena Emo qd Jacobi, 12.11.1471: AN, Notary, P.Graselli, b.508, 87, partly copied in Frari, b.6 Indice catastico 1234-1665.

24. R.Goffen, *Piety and Patronage*, op.cit., 28.

cycle of the True Cross for the *albergo* marks the culmination of their patronage.²⁵

Neighbourhood in San Polo can also be explored through the attitude of parishioners to the state of their streets and canals. *Vicini* were expected to bear the brunt of the upkeep of bridges, embankments and paved streets (*salizzade*):- "*se faza per geto*".²⁶ To ensure that these imposts (*geti*) were levied "in an equitable manner" and "properly apportioned", a massive valuation of houses and land (*catastico*) was ordered in 1459 (as the last *estimo* had been compiled "over twenty three years" beforehand).²⁷

On June 17 1470, nobles and *cittadini* from Sant'Agostin banded together formally to petition the Collegio; they proposed to replace the wooden bridge connecting the parish to San Boldo with one in stone, to "the ornament of the city". A clutch of such petitions can be identified between this date and July 1472, when Alvise Tron and the aforementioned Piero Diedo represented the parishioners of S.Boldo ("S.Agathe").²⁸ In fact, successive waves of bridge-building took place throughout Venice's *contrade*, as simple *tolette* and *pontexelle* were replaced by handsome stone structures. A similar flurry of petitions was lodged by the secular canons of Madonna dell'Orto (Cannaregio) and the parishioners of San Gregorio, San Pantalon, Santa Margherita (Dorsoduro), San Bartolomeo and San Pietro di Castello from November 1482 to March 1484. This was thus a double process, part

25. P.Sohm, *The Scuola Grande of San Marco, 1437-1550. The Architecture of a Venetian Lay Confraternity*, Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts, Garland Publishing, New York and London, (1982), 73-5, 153, 203-7, docs. 168-196, 316-323; P.Fortini-Brown, *Venetian narrative painting in the age of Carpaccio*, op.cit., catalogue n.XV, docs.1-7, 282-4; L.Puppi, O.Puppi, *Mauro Codussi*, op.cit., 196-203; J.McAndrew, *Venetian Architecture of the Early Renaissance*, op.cit., 144-49

26. Senato, Terra, 2, f.137r. (7.7.1444).

27 "Con quella debita riegola e proporcion che vuol la terra", 31.5. 1459, *Bilanci generali*, op.cit., doc.112, 133-4. Translated with minor errors in Venice, *A Documentary History*, op.cit., 136-37.

28. Collegio, Notatorio, 11, f.73v;ibid, f.129r, (13.7.1472). The "*domo virorum nobiliorum Alvisi et Francisi Tron*" along Rio Sant'Agostin, is mentioned in ibid., 12, f.49v, (20.8.1476).

official, part unofficial, from above and from below.²⁹ Parishes apparently shared some of the bracing elements of rivalry so evident between the great confraternities.³⁰

The parallels vanish however when we examine support for the dredging of canals. Central government had to replace *vicinitas*. Locals from both Sant'Agostin and San Stin presented a united front against the Piovego magistrates in October 1461. They argued that Rio Sant'Agostin did not need to be dredged for many more years: only the crust of filth which had built up on its banks had to be removed ("*amoveantur certa dorsa*"). Much the same story was repeated when Jacopo Marcello, ducal councillor for the *sestiere*, proposed the "*cavatione*" of Rio Sant'Aponal in May 1480.³¹ San Polo appears something of an exception. But the sources also speak of gangs of young vandals who roamed the city, smashing wells and *salizzade*, flinging stones at bridges and even setting fire to them.³²

Neighbourhood in this *sestiere* must also be examined in the context of an array of corporate bonds; to guilds, and above all to confraternities; bonds of brotherhood, it is argued, transcended parish ties.

Membership of the *Scuola Grande de San Giovanni Evangelista*, grew at a dramatic rate, attracting recruits from all over the city and from a broad spectrum of crafts and professions. In 1478, the Council of Ten were furious to discover that its officers had

29. Collegio, Notatorio, 13, f.20r (14.11.1482), f.2, *ibid.*, f.28r, (11.4.1483), f.28v, (17.4.1483), f.45v, 4.1.1483mv (=84), f.48r, (7.3.1484).

30. On rivalry ("competing to be equal") between the *Scuole Grandi*: P.Fortini Brown, 'Honor and Necessity: The Dynamics of Patronage in the Confraternities of Renaissance Venice', *SV*, n.s. XIV, (1987), 179-212.

31. 11.5.1480, Collegio, Notatorio, 12, f.123v.

32. See *Compilazione Leggi*, serie 1, "Strade", b.357, Senate decree of 21.4.1435, 430; Great Council decree of 20.2.1445, 457; 18.2.1493 mv, Senato, Terra, 12, f.42v; Also MC, Ursa, c.153r; Senato, Terra, 9, f.126r (both quoted in E.Crouzet-Pavan, 'Imaginaire et politique: Venise et la morte à la fin du Moyen Age', *Mélanges de L'Ecole Française de Rome, Moyen Age-Temps Modernes*, XCIII, (1981), 476.

enrolled "about two hundred brothers in excess of its legal limit", then set at 550.³³

Very tentative conclusions based on trade descriptions suggest that San Giovanni Evangelista attracted a relatively high proportion of textile and clothing trades: eleven drapers, twelve tailors, nine second-hand merchants, four dyers, linen-workers, velvet-makers, silkworkers and *tellaroli* (sellers of cotton and linen) are all inscribed on a *mariegola* ending in 1491.³⁴ Luxury trades were well represented, with seven goldsmiths and four jewellers, unlike nautical trades; a single "*patron di nave*", one oarsman, only two mariners and no caulkers or shipwrights were enrolled on their books.

Similarly, the runaway expansion of the *Scuola Grande de San Rocco* is well-documented. During the savage outbreak of pestilence in 1478, as "death now began not..to hover over every one's head, but to look into their houses and chambers, and stare in their faces", two *scuole* were founded at San Giuliano (in S.Marco) and at the Frari, dedicated to "*misier San Rocho*", the protector of plague victims.³⁵ The "*devoti*" of San Giuliano, both men and women, like the *Scuole Grandi* scourged themselves in public processions. Two years later, their confraternity was fused with that of the Frari, which met in a small oratory behind the convent's rear apses ("*in cimiterio ecclesie*"). Membership was still limited to a total of one hundred, though another hundred

33. Dieci, *Misti*, 19, f.101v-102r, 11.3.1478. Part published in W.Wurthmann, 'The Council of Ten and the *Scuole Grandi*', art.cit., n.30, 27.

34. For the serious problems in interpreting these lists, stemming from the large proportion of members placed on the books without any description of their occupation or status and for an analysis of the membership of San Rocco (1490-1540), see B.Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice*, op.cit., 94-98.

35. Quote from D.Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, (1722), The Folio Society, London, (1960), 41-42; On the early history of San Rocco, G.Soravia, *La Chiesa e la Scuola Grande de San Rocco*, Vol.III of *Le Chiese de Venezia, descritte e illustrate*, Francesco Andreola, Venezia, (1824), passim; G.Nicoletti, *Illustrazione della Chiesa e Scuola di San Rocco in Venezia*, Reale Deputazione Sopra Gli Studi di Storia patria, Monumenti storici, Miscellanea, Vol. III, serie IV, Visentini, Venezia, (1885); C.Mignozzi, 'San Rocco. Vicende della scuola', in *Le Scuole di Venezia*, ed.T.Pignatti, Electa, Milano, (1982), 152.

were added in 1485. By March 1486, when the scuola was negotiating to move to San Silvestro, the limit was increased to 300. San Rocco was elevated to the status of a *Scuola Grande* in September 1489 and allowed to raise its membership to 500.³⁶

Yet if only around ten per cent of the total population of the *sestiere* could have been involved in the activities of the *Scuole Grandi*, the district boasted around twenty *scuole piccole*: charitable brotherhoods attached to trade guilds, devotional confraternities and associations formed by foreign communities (Sanudo counted 119 throughout Venice in 1521).³⁷

"Bulwarks against insecurity", these associations (like the *Scuole Grandi*) were founded to pursue salvation by accumulating a store of merit in which all could share, especially through good works; to remember the dead in commemorative masses, speeding them through their suffering in Purgatory; members "came together to pray, honour saints, maintain altars and lights, and assist each other in times of distress".³⁸ The confraternity provided a decent, well-attended burial which an average member could not have afforded by himself.

The glass-sellers had their chapel at San Polo from 1438; the Florentine and Milanese communities met at the Frari, as did the *scuole* of Sant'Antonio da Padova, San Bernardino and Santa Maria dei Mercandanti.³⁹ The *spezieri da grosso* (who traded wholesale or merely sold spices, sugar and wax) moved to Sant'Aponal in 1394,

36. B.Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice*, op.cit., n.26, 38.

37. Sanudo, *Diarii*, XXX, cols.399, 401, 25.6.1521.

38. B.Pullan, 'Natura e carattere delle scuole', in *Le Scuole di Venezia*, (ed.T.Pignatti.), op.cit., 9-26; R.Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders*, op.cit., Chapter 2 ('Guilds and Christian Brotherhood'), 44-77.

39. On *scuole* in the Frari, L.Sbriziolo, 'Per la storia delle confraternite veneziane: Dalle Deliberazione Miste (1310-1476) del Consiglio dei Dieci, Scolae Communes, Artigiane e Nazionali', *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti, CXXVI, (1967-68), 427, 430, 432-33, 437; R.Goffen, *Piety and Patronage*, op.cit., 26; ns.103-104, 181 (the Milanese and Florentine confraternities), ns.106-107, 182 (*Scuola di San Antonio*); G.Bettiolo, *La 'Fradaja' de missier santo Antonio da Padoa alla 'Ca' Grande'* (1439). *Studio di documenti inediti*, Venezia, (.1912);

maintaining an altar to their patron, San Gottardo, in the church from 1467; here too were the flour-sellers. At San Giovanni Evangelista, Bartolomeo Vivarini was commissioned by the stonemasons for their altarpiece; a relief by Pietro Lombardo of St. Mark healing San Anianus (1478) and a pair of shoes carved over the doorway still broadcast the meeting-place of the *calegheri* in Campo San Tom , acquired in 1446.⁴⁰ However, the ferrymen of San Tom  had to wait until July 1503 for their altar in the church ("*de Madonna S. Maria posto in quella a man destra*").⁴¹

The statute-book of the *Scuola di Santa Maria dei Mercandanti* at the Frari, drawn up in 1476, includes a list of members.⁴² The names of 210 men are recorded in the same hand, which begins in 1461 and breaks off around 1491. Of these, seventy-six were registered without any precise occupational or social label, whilst seventy-nine were listed without any indication of their parish. It is surprising that nearly two-thirds of this *scuola*'s entrants can be identified: this was a *scuola "dei Mercanti"* and those who normally failed to describe their occupation are generally thought to have been merchants or established *cittadini*. The overall range of trades was wide, with over forty represented. However, craftsmen in less respectable crafts, the *artes mechanice*, were poorly represented numerically: there were a mere

40. The cheese-sellers (*caxaroli*) also had their altar at San Giacomo di Rialto (from 1436). The shoemakers, who looked down on the cobblers (*zavatieri*), had a tomb and an altar (to S. Aniano) in San Tom  from 1455; T. Pivoto, *Vetera ac nova ecclesiae S. Thomae Apostoli Venetiarum Monumenta*, Venezia, (1758), 6 (BMV, Misc. 20761); See also R. Mackenney, 'La Scuola dei Calegheri', *Itinerari Veneziani. San Polo*, op.cit., Scheda 14. They did, however, continue to celebrate mass in the church of the Carit  where the body of Sant Aniano lay, see G. Tassini, *Curiosit  Veneziane*, op.cit., entry *Callegheri*, 111; On the "*stationeri che vende veri*", *ibid.*, entry '*Veriera*', 687 (original in *Arti*, b. 725., f. 6r, 72v); On the altar of the stonemasons: P. Humfrey, R. Mackenney, 'Venetian Trade Guilds as patrons of art in the Renaissance', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXVIII, (1986), 325; For all these *scuole*, C. A. Levi, *Notizie storiche di alcune antiche scuole d'arti e mestiere scomparse o esistenti ancora in Venezia*, F. Origania Editore, (1895).

41. For the altar of the ferrymen of San Tom , see the "*mariegola de nui barcharuoli al trageto de San Thomado*", Sydney Jones University Library of Liverpool, Ms. Mayer 20.9.83.37, ms.cit., f. 3r-6r (5.3.1503, 15.7.1503).

42. *Scuole piccole e suffragi*, b. 437bis (the confraternity was founded in 1260): mentioned in *Archivio Sartori*, op.cit., 1839. The *scuola* had their altar in the central chapel to the left of the chancel, granted to them on 29 April 1421: R. Goffen, *Piety and Patronage*, op.cit., n. 88, 217.

three dyers; two carpenters; two *taiacalze*; two barbers; one cooper; one tailor, one *schudeler* and one *calderer*. Luxury trades and traders dominated: there were nineteen spicers/apothecaries, nine brokers, eight jewellers and five goldsmiths. All six *sestieri* were represented; 24 brothers came from San Polo (18.3%), 29 from San Marco (22.1%), 27 from Dorsoduro (20.6%), 22 from Santa Croce, but only nine from Castello. The proportion of members from each parish in San Polo closely reflects the demographic imbalances between them, so members were not drawn disproportionately from neighbouring *contrade*. In this confraternity, parish ties were transcended. Close comparisons can be made with *scuole* such as San Girolamo and San Christofalo dei Mercanti (at Madonna dell'Orto), both in Cannaregio which also which found room for a considerable spread of skills and status and so provided a forum "full of opportunities for talking shop and doing business".⁴³

However, it would be wrong to see all the brotherhoods of the *sestiere* as necessarily opposing forces to parishes. The records of the *scuole piccole* are often disappointing, haphazard and disorderly, but what little evidence we have points one way. Many small *scuole di devozione* or *scolae communi* appear to have been parish-based and open to local influence.

There are records of three devotional confraternities in the *sestiere* approved by the Council of Ten in the second half of the century:- a *scuola* "*ad honorem et reverentiam Dei et Ione profete*" in Sant'Aponal (May 1454); the Scuola di San Vittore "*in contracte Sancti Steni*" (September 1469); and the confraternity dedicated to the Augustinian hermit, San Niccolò di Tolentino at San Silvestro

43. Quote from J.J.Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, (1985), 32 ('The Importance of Lay Fraternities'); On San Girolamo, M.Lowry, 'The Social World of Nicholas Jenson and John of Cologne', *La Bibliofilia*, LXXXIII, (1981), 193-218.

(May 1475).⁴⁴ The latter, founded by forty "artisans", was however viewed with suspicion by the Ten. Without their prior consent, the statutes of the confraternity had been "praised" by the Patriarch, and they had been granted a chapel in San Silvestro. An exasperated council, after having initially rejected the petition, took the most unusual step of demanding changes in their statutes regarding matters of prayer and confession. The other *scuole* were formed by parishioners, but they have left no further trace in the archives.

These associations appear very similar to the *scuole* founded by a number of devout layfolk in the parish of S.Zuan Degolà (S.Croce) in November 1449 and the *scuola* of SS. Michele, Gabriele and Raffaele in the church of S.Eufemia della Giudecca, comprising *nobiles* and *populares* of both sexes from the parish (1433).

Wills show that the *sestiere's* humbler artisans (and notably women) belonged to small local fraternities. They left money to support lights to burn before high and side altars and to adorn the statutes and shrines of saints who would intercede for them. Paula, married to a master dyer, wanted her body to rest in the company tomb of the *Scuola di S. Maria* in San Polo, alongside her daughter Chiara. ⁴⁵ So did Margarita, wife of Zuan de Cologna, a *zuponer* (doublet/jacketmaker) from the neighbouring parish of Sant'Aponal.⁴⁶ Andreuola Possa, servant of Lucia Bernardo and her co-parishioner Catherina both made bequests to the confraternity (of two and three ducats each).⁴⁷

44. L.Sbriziolo, 'Per la storia delle confraternite veneziane: le *scolae communes*', art.cit., *Scuola di Sant'Aponal*, 15.4.1454, n.70, 437; *Scuola di S.Vittore* at San Stin, 28.9.1469; n.83, 441; San Nicolò di Tolentino, 2.8.1475, n.88, 442.

45. Paula daughter of Agustin de Alegreto, *Miscellanea Notai Testamenti*, n. 2611, (29.6.1479)

46. By the fifteenth century *coltreri*, who made quilts, curtains and hangings and were once incorporated in the *arte* (guild) of the *zuponarii* had formed a separate guild: G.Monticolo, *I Capitolari delle Arti*, op.cit., Vol I., (1896), n.3, 23.

47. She was married to a Jacopo Possa.

In 1506 and 1511, confraternities of the Holy Sacrament were established in Sant'Aponal and San Tom . "These institutions were deeply woven into the fabric of the parish" and have usually been associated with the later Counter-Reformation drive to make the parish church the focus of lay devotion.⁴⁸ On the inscription recording the founding of the *Scuola del Santissimo* at Sant'Aponal are to be found the names of Jacopo Grasolari, the parish-priest, and the *cittadini* residents Leone Sanson, Leonardo Dapoco and Nadal Azenti. Similarly, each *gastaldo* (or warden) of the scuola at San Tom  had to be a parishioner.⁴⁹ Rather than speaking of the resurgence of Venetian parish confraternities in the mid-sixteenth century, they appear to have grown out of a vigorous and well-established tradition.

But devotion to a *scuola* was not necessarily at odds with other loyalties: they interlocked in a complicated web or network.⁵⁰ The tailor Andreas de Cattaro, left the Scuola di S.Maria in his parish church a ducat, but requested burial in the guild tomb "*ad Cruciferos*" with four large unbleached candles (*doppieri*);⁵¹ Bettino qd Ambrosio, a maker of loom reeds, requested to be buried in his parish cemetery (Sant'Aponal), but left two ducats to the Scuola of San Nicol  di Tolentino in neighbouring San Silvestro. He also bequeathed three ducats to his native church in Bergamo. The widowed Florisbellina de Salvino left a couple of ducats to

48. Cf. R. Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders*, op.cit., 60, 170, 171. Similar confraternities were established at San Cassiano, San Stae (S.Croce) (1504, 1511), S.Mois , San Bortolomio, Santa Maria del Giglio, (S.Marco) (1506, 1507) and San Sofia (Cannaregio) (1510); P.Hills, 'Piety and Patronage in Cinquecento Venice. Tintoretto and the Scuole del Sacramento', *Art History*, vol.VI, n.1, (1983), 31; G.Barbiero, *Le Confraternite del Santissimo Sacramento prima del 1539*, Treviso, (1941).

49. E.Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane raccolte e illustrate da Emmanuelle Antonio Cicogna*, Vol.III, Giuseppe Picotti, Venezia, (1830), 'Sant Aponal', n.2., 274 (23.3.1506); BMC, Cl.IV, Mariegole, n.44, *Scuola del Santissimo a San Tom *, part published in A.Alver  Bortolotto, *Maiolica a Venezia nel Rinascimento*, Edizioni Bolis, Venezia, (1988), 29; Quote from J.Martin, *Venice's Hidden Enemies. Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City*, University of California Press, Berkeley, (1993), 193.

50. These terms are employed here metaphorically, rather than in the rigorous sense in which they are now extensively used in sociological and anthropological literature.

51. *8. 1449, AN, Notary Francesco Grassi, unbound testament, b.531, 12 (damaged).

Sant'Aponal, but directed that her body was to lie in "*una de sepulturis della Scola de San Gottardo*"; Finally, she remembered the church of S.Maria Camerata, "*districtus Pergamo*".⁵² Symona, wife of the velvet-maker Nicolò de Bernardo, whose parents were still living in Bergamo, similarly asked to be buried in the San Gottardo tomb. She left a ducat to light the altar of the Virgin and endowed a votive mass for herself and her first husband in the church. Bernardo, a cobbler from San Tomá, provided for a meal for the parish poor, and left eight *lire* for candles for the chapel of Santa Maria and San Bernardino in the Frari.⁵³ Marcholina, married to Rigo, a second-hand trader (and twice widowed) belonged to the confraternity of the Florentines in the Frari. She asked to be buried in their sepulchre but made bequests to the *Scuola di Spirito Santo* in San Moisè (S.Marco) and her parish chapter. Margarita, wife of Valentin, "*barcharolo*" asked that the local presbyter (Alvise qd Alberti *pictoris*) offer the customary mass of San Gregorio (a trental) for her soul in San Silvestro and left a single ducat hoping to be buried "*apud ecclesie S.Job*".⁵⁴ All too aware that she might lose her daughter, Margarita, in her infancy, she instructed that in those tragic circumstances her estate should be spent on alms for the poor of the parish, on the upkeep of the church and helping poor girls scrape together dowries. We have to go beyond the view that the "social world" of the *popolo minuto* was necessarily confined within the narrow bounds of the immediate family and the fraternal loyalties and "vertical consciousness" of particular trades. Simply charting an ordinary Venetians' choice of burial site appears a blunt instrument in

52. 9.11.1488, AN, Notary A.Grassellis, unbound testament, b.508, n.99

53. 20.3.1458, Bernardus "*zocholarus*", AN, Testamenti, Notary F.de Grassis, b.531, 38.

54. She seems to have been unable to afford, like many artisans, a further thirty masses, the *nessa della Vergine*, which usually cost an extra two ducats. On these masses, G.B. Galliccioli, *Delle memorie venete*, op.cit., Bk.III, Chapter V, 'Della Messa', n.438, 219: VII, Votive lasciate, n.542, 295-96, n.545, 297.

gauging their religious sensibilities; "the elasticity of the fabric of religious life" appears to have provided the people of this *sestiere* with a range of possibilities to meet their needs.

Similarly complex webs of loyalties can be observed amongst the *cittadini*: as has already been seen with the Petriani and Aiuta families in Sant'Aponal. Ambrosius de Agrariis of San Tomà, a brother of San Giovanni Evangelista left the *scuola* ten ducats. But he also ordered his executors to spend three hundred ducats on "*poveri bexognosi*" and "*povere novize*", recommending to them "the poor of my *contrada*" and "my poor relatives". Nor did he forget his Paduan links, nor his servant (*mamolla*), Marina.⁵⁵ Christina, daughter of Francesco Balanzan and widow of Francesco Vianello, wanted to be buried in her parish church, Sant'Aponal. But she wanted members from the Scuola de "*S.Ieronimo in S.Fantin*" to attend the funeral and her body to be wrapped in the habit of the Dominican tertiaries ("*de qua ordine ego sum*"). In 1449, Johannis ab Ursis, a draper from San Polo left three ducats to both the parish priest of San Polo and the confraternity there dedicated to San Vittore and Santa Margarita. Zuanne also bequeathed a single ducat to the Scuola de San Francesco at the Frari, the Pietà and the Lazzareto.⁵⁶

Allegiances and the pattern of giving could also vary considerably within the same family. Chiara, daughter of Domenico de Monte, a jeweller from Sant'Aponal, ordered a daily mass in the Frari and a trental in Sant'Aponal (June 1478). She also remembered the poor of San Lazzaro, the paupers' hospital begun at Sant'Antonio di Castello and Helena, daughter of her house-servant, Zita. Twenty-two years earlier, her brother Alvixe

55. AN, Notary, G.Bonicardi, b.68, n.37, (26.6.1478).

56. Ten years later, another draper from the parish, Zuan Borgi who was buried at the Frari, left one and a half ducats to the Scuola de San Francesco: *ibid*, n.142, (8.10.1459).

wished (like her) to be buried at the monastery of Sant'Alvise, leaving 24 ducats for a mass for the soul of his father. But he bequeathed his shop and a thousand ducats to his son Geronimo Bianca, his wife, drew up her will when she was pregnant again in 1478. She too elected Sant'Alvise as her place of burial, but wanted Franciscan tertiaries at her funeral; their shelters at San Barnaba and S.Raffael (Dorsoduro) were to be given five ducats each, along with the Pietà and the Lazaretto (for plague victims). In Sant'Aponal, Bianca requested a daily mass, setting aside twenty ducats "*pro elemosina*".⁵⁷ These patterns also raise the difficult issue of differences in neighbourhood ties between men and women. Renzo Derosas has noted that women's "social networks" were "more rigid and restricted", but in San Polo this division is blurred.⁵⁸

The intensity of the attachment that could develop between a devotional confraternity and parish was dramatically illustrated when the *Scuola di San Antonio di Padova* was lured to the Frari. Founded by "*molti omini*" from San Simeone Profeta on 10 March 1439 ("*e le preti molti soleziti a far crescer la devozion*"), one week later a certain Rasmin Daronti began negotiations with the parish clergy for enough land "*da far la chaxa*".⁵⁹ These degenerated into a bitter squabble when 'Pre Rixa' demanded twelve *soldi* a month to celebrate Mass every Monday. Two days later, Rasmin and Donado Reno spirited away the image of St Anthony ("*e quella portata prosesionalmente con dopieri*") to the Frari (March 31). San Simeone

⁵⁷ However, we must bear in mind that men's wills tended to concentrate more on the lineage than women's.

⁵⁸ R.Derosas, 'Moralità e Giustizia a Venezia nel '500 e '600: Gli esecutori contra la Bestemmia', in G.Cozzi (ed.), *Stato, società e giustizia nella Repubblica veneta (sec.XV-XVIII)*, Vol.I, Jouvence, Roma, (1980), 460; Cf. D.Romano, 'Gender and the urban geography of Renaissance Venice', *Journal of Social History*, XXIII, (1989), 339-53.

⁵⁹ For what follows, *Archivio sartori. Documenti di storia e arte francescana*, op.cit., II/2, 1843-1852 (extracts from "ancient chronicles" originally brought to light by Giovanni Battista Bertoco, BMV, Ital.V, 54 (5863); G.Bettio, *La "fradaja"*, op.cit., passim. On San Chiereghino and the scuola dedicated to him in San Simone Profeta (Santa Croce) in 1535: *Venice. A Documentary History*, op.cit., 210.

erupted into anger: "*Non zesava la insultazion*": on both sides "hatred multiplied"; it was even said of San Simeone "*che l'era parte guelfa e gebelina*". Nevertheless, in July the Ten confirmed the new Scuola di S. Antonio at the Frari. Laymen and priests from San Simeone then attempted to form a rival confraternity, by attempting to dedicate the altar of the *Scuola di S. Chiereghino* (in the parish) to St. Anthony and place his image on the confraternity's *penelo* (banner). They met strong opposition from the Franciscans, and the Ten were forced to intervene to silence the "*mal fedeli*" of San Simeone in October 1440: if they dared to commit any "*adunanza de comozion*", "*insultation*" or futher "*scandoli*", they would be thrown into prison for six months and fined two hundred ~~line~~^{lire} ("*senza poderli far grazia alcuna*").

Evidence from other *sestieri* also points to patrician patronage of *local scuole*: for instance, the Loredan of San Canciano were closely linked with the *Scuola di Sant'Orsola*, at Santi Giovanni e Paolo and were depicted in Carpaccio's famous narrative cycle for the confraternity.⁶⁰

However, not all *scuole* in the *sestiere* were successful. In 1437, the Florentine confraternity in the Frari, whose membership included Antonio Martelli, manager of the Venetian branch of the Medici bank, solicited funds from Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici, for a wooden statue of St John the Baptist by Donatello. Half a century later, the *scuola* was in ruins and the annual rent of their chapel was reduced from 30 to 20 ducats (1489). The Scuola di Sant'Alvise (also at the Frari) was suppressed by the Ten in

60. Marco Loredan was buried in the *scuola* in 1488; the body of his son Pietro, born in 1456, was brought from Cyprus and was placed in the centre of the meeting-house twenty years later. Marco had five daughters and two other sons: Zorzi and Girolamo, who moved close to the church of Madonna dell'Orto. Fantin, from another branch, was also buried in a wall tomb on the exterior of the chapel; his nephew, Antonio "*detto Zaffo*" was also a benefactor of the *scuola*. A third line was represented by Niccolò, nicknamed *Tartaglia* ("the Stammerer"), presented for the *Balla d'Oro* in 1451: G. Ludwig, P. Molmenti, *The Life and Works of Vittorio Carpaccio*, trans. by R. Cust, London (1907), orig. published as *Vittore Carpaccio*, Milano, (1906), 95-96.

1443, as its youthful founders were so apathetic and the Monastery of Sant'Alvise feared that the new confraternity would lessen devotion to the saint.⁶¹

In my opinion, it is reasonable to speak of a decline in the festive role of these parishes. This goes against the grain of the images of sixteenth-century mass fist-fights for control of bridges, which generated fierce parish loyalties. These battles are first documented around 1505 and the Council of Ten's edict suppressing them was only reproclaimed on a yearly basis from the 1520's.⁶²

"In questo zorno, sul campo di San Polo, per la compagnia di zoveni chiamati.. fo fata una festa su soleri..fo fato caze di tori, fuoghi e colation in soler, et duro ditta festa fin hore 6 di notte, cossa inusitata far in campi" (Today, on stands erected in Campo San Polo, a festival was put on by a company of youths known as....bullraces, a firework display and a feast were held. And the entertainment lasted until six at night (about 11 p.m): a very unusual thing to do in squares", duly noted Sanudo in 1504.⁶³

Parish festivities seem to have come to a virtual halt. The only attempt to hold a public festival in the *sestiere* was not organised by parishoners, but by a company of young nobles. When the Council of Ten learnt in April 1487 that certain nobles "*seu societas*" (presumably a Company of the Hose, a *societates iuvenum*) planned to organize a festival on Campo San Polo, they

61. B.Boucher, 'Jacopo Sansovino's St John the Baptist: a Document and a New Dating', in P.Denley, C.Elam (eds.), *Florence and Italy. Renaissance Studies in Honour of Nicolai Rubinstein*, Westfield Publications in Medieval Studies, II, London, (1988), n.19, 438, 441; Collegio, Notatorio, 13, f.100r (8.5.1486); R.Mueller, 'Mercanti e imprenditori fiorentini a Venezia nel Tardo Medioevo', art.cit., 31-2.

62. R.Davis, *The War of the Fists. Popular Culture and Public Violence in Late Renaissance Venice*, Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford, (1994), 15, 129, n.2, 205. (According to Davis, a much later verse recalls a battle held in 1421 at Ponte dei Servi. In fact 1421 should read 1521; the same error was printed on the cover of Antonio Caravia's poem of 1550, *La verra antiga dei Castellani, Canaruoli e Gnatti*, describing the *battagliola* at the Servi in 1521).

63 January 1504, Sanudo, *Diarii*, V, 739.

branded it as "dangerous and unfitting to our state", threatening transgressors with severe penalties: a year's imprisonment and a massive fine of one thousand ducats.⁶⁴ Instead, *feste* were to be held "*in segreto*", in patrician houses not in the streets, as "was customary".

This prohibition can be linked to the Ten's misgivings regarding public *momarie* (dumb-shows) organized by Companies of the Hose and religious drama, which they associated with indecency and public disturbances. In January 1458, they were clearly disquieted by the overtones of sexual ambivalence in masking and mumming, ("*Cum sicut aperte intelligitur omni anno augetur numerus eorum qui isto tempore se transvestiunt ac faciunt mumos et mascararum*"), whilst in 1461 they condemned the "troubles, dangers and ills" which accompanied these performances.⁶⁵ The following year, the small outdoor stages the Dominicans wanted to build in *Campo Santi Giovanni e Paolo* to celebrate the canonization of St.Catherine of Siena were seen as presenting a risk to the "salvation of souls" and to the "*sanitate corporum*": sodomy and other "dishonesties" could be practised within them. The festivities were held under sufferance: and the "*solaria*" were torn down immediately after the solemn processions.⁶⁶ Informal gatherings after dark roused their suspicions, and especially schools of music, singing and "grammatica" ("*docentur malos..et abominabiles mores*") which remained open an hour or two after sunset: in 1477 schools of fencing and arithmetic were added to the list. These waves of moral indignation, the fear of unofficial gatherings and the

64. 3.4.1487, Dieci, Misti, 23, f.124r.

65. 24.1. 1457 (=58), Dieci, Misti, 15, f.168r; 3.2.1461, Dieci, Misti, 16, f.51v: "*pro vitandis inconvenientibus perculis et malis qui sequuntur propter has mascharas et mumos qui vadunt per civitatem*"

66. G.B.Lorenzi, *Leggi e memorie venete sulla prostituzione*, op.cit., 213.

growing diffidence towards the poor all seem to have strongly worked against parish-based festivities.

This ambivalence was in keeping with the state's promotion of civic ritual. *Contrade* have been set against the backcloth of a crowded ceremonial calendar, dominated by ducal progresses ("andate") and the great celebrations on the feast-days of St. Mark, during Carnival, the Ascension fair, at Christmas, Easter and on Corpus Christi.⁶⁷ Hugely impressive spectacles, these rituals were powerful combinations of piety, republican pride and patriotism, which carried potent political messages of Venice's special relationship with the Almighty, of her order and stability; they consecrated the "deepest values of the Venetian *communitas*". During Easter, Rialto was the destination of "andate" on consecutive days. On Holy Wednesday, the Doge visited San Giovanni Elemosinario; on Maundy Thursday he was rowed in "*do piatti*" to San Giacomo. "Days of amusement", "with incessant pealing of bells and bonfires" were also proclaimed for the entries of princes and ambassadors; for the election and funerals of Doges; for the announcement of peace, victories and Leagues; or if the fleet arrived. They drew massive crowds: "There seemed to be 68,000 in the Piazza, on the palace, balconies and in the church", wrote Sanudo of the celebrations in 1495 for the Holy League. The Rialto bridge is said to have collapsed under the weight of the spectators for the visit of the Emperor Frederick III.⁶⁸

The coronation of the Dogressa Dea Morosini, wife of Niccolò Tron in 1471, must have been an especially memorable event for the inhabitants of San Polo. Four ducal councillors were escorted in

⁶⁷ E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, op.cit., passim

⁶⁸ This is probably apocryphal, but some chroniclers suggest it may have collapsed "*per la novizia del Marchese di Ferrara*" in 1444. The bridge was extremely rickety and only reinforced in 1458.

the gilded state barge, the *Bucintoro*, to Ca'Morosini at San Silvestro, where the Dogaressa awaited on the steps with her "parenti". Six "*donzelle*" held her train, as she was conducted by trumpeters, standard-bearers and heralds to the *riva* and conducted along the Grand Canal to Piazza San Marco. Three days of "*regate*" and "*chazze*" followed. The very next year when Caterina Cornaro sailed from Venice to accept the crown of Cyprus, she was "*levata in Bucintoro*", "loaded deep with the all great men of the Republic", at the *traghetto* of S.Polo ("*perché il padre stava a San Polo*") and rowed in state down to the Bacino to board the Beirut galleys. Equally striking was the magnificent reception of Frederick III "*con gran trionfo*" (February 7 1469): "*el suo buzintoro*" was met by an infinite number of boats, "*palascherme belissime*", each lavishly decorated with "*tapezaria*" by a craft guild, with "fountains that gushed wine, milk and malmsey" an equestrian statue of the Emperor "*al'(ant)iga*" and "*momarie che balavano*".¹⁰³ Parishes simply could not compete with the sheer scale and grandeur of civic ritual.

These celebrations may have undoubtedly articulated a vision of Venice which entirely suited patrician interests, but this does not mean that the anonymous multitudes who flocked to these celebrations shared that approved self-image. They had their own notions as to what they were turning out about. Carnival, for instance, was a time of relative licence, all about massive eating and drinking, revelry until late at night, mockery and violence. The statutes of the second-hand dealers make it quite clear that workers (*lavoranti e fanti*) saw the Senza fair as a great opportunity for a bit of thieving, whilst "*tolomazi*" (official

69. Dea was daughter of Silvestro di Marco. On the events of 1471, A.Sagredo, *Sulle consorterie delle arti edificative*, Tip.P.Narotovich, Venezia, (1856), 279-81; ASV, Collegio, Cerimoniale, b.1, c.6r-7r; G.Oriani, (ed). *Il trionfo della Dogaressa di Venezia nel secolo XV*, Venezia (1874), BNM, (Misc.3193/4).

guides) and touts pushed unwary pilgrims into certain hostels, showed them the sights and directed them to the shops.⁷⁰ Whatever their impact, processions did not envelop the whole lives of the poor nor prevent them from forming their own culture, derived from their experience and resources.

Parishes were also overshadowed by the processional role of the *Scuole Grandi*. Every Sunday, the *Scuola Grande de San Giovanni Evangelista* held a procession; in 1441 and 1474 major new processions were added to Santa Croce, San Martino and San Lio, the last "*in signum miraculi demonstrati in contrata*".⁷¹ From 1438, the *Scuola* paraded its miraculous relic of the True Cross on eight occasions a year: on the feast-days of San Isidoro, San Lorenzo, San Vito St. Mark, Corpus Christi and "*La Madonna de settembre a S. Giobbe*".⁷² The only notice we have of parish processions were those undertaken to placate divine wrath during plague outbreaks, such as those of 1447 recorded in the *Cronaca Erizzo*.⁷³

7.3 PROPERTY, TENSIONS AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

In this district, neighbourhood ties appear to have been especially charged with tension because of the peculiarly cramped circumstances of building.

70. Strazzaroli, Mariegolà, Biblioteca Correr, Cl.IV, n. 195, cap.56, f.50v: "*Perchè molte dextroneste per quelli del nostro mestier et maxime entro i lavoranti e fanti da la Senza su le fiere e marcadi e ale botege: lavoranti e fanti branca quelle persone e strasinarle in qua e la/ chi i tuol la bereta o'l capello o stracai el mantello..per modo che quelli se coroca e non sa dove i se sia*"; U.Tucci, *I servizi marittimi veneziani per il pellegrinaggio in Terrasanta nel Medioevo*, Prolusione letta il 30 Gennaio 1984 per l'inaugurazione dell'anno accademico 1983-4, Università degli Studi di Venezia, Prolusioni, Venezia, (1991), 36-37; for further information on "*tolomaggi*": *Ufficiali al Cattaver*, b.2, "*Compendio del Capitolare*", 89r-93v.

71. L.Sbriziolo, 'Per la storia delle confraternite veneziane: dalle deliberazioni miste (1310-1476) del Consiglio dei Dieci: Le Scuole dei Battuti', in *Studi in onore di Gilles Gerard Meersseman II*, Italia Sacra, Documenti di Storia Ecclesiastica XVI, Padova, (1970), 754.

72. W.Wurthmann, 'The Council of Ten and the Scuole Grandi', art.cit., n.66, 39; a full list of the 33 annual celebrations of this *Scuola* can be found in SGE, R.16, Section 8 (reference kindly supplied by Professor Johnathan Glixon).

73. G.Gallicciolli, *Delle Memorie venete*, op.cit., Bk I, Ch.XIV, 209.

In the immediate aftermath of the Rialto fire, even before the rubble had been cleared away, the Senate decided that "as diverse differences could come about concerning property limits (*confini*), the said three nobles (to be elected) will have authority to summarily decree and assign everyone their true property limits, providing them however with the benefit of appeal".⁷⁴ Benedetto Ferrini was scornful of Bartolomeo Bon's "badly planned design" for the the Ca' del Duca, writing to Francesco Sforza's secretary "*non ha el suo quadro, anzi e gualampa (i.e. askew)*", "since.. they (Venetians) do not want to give up an inch of their land".⁷⁵ It will come as little surprise that *confini* were central to the whole experience of neighbourhood, in a densely populated district in which property was surrounded by restrictive legislation ("*caricati da vincoli*"), any minimal change could upset a delicate balance.

The site of the *Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista* was especially cramped, wedged in between the properties of the Badoer. Restricted to the south by a narrow courtyard, shared by the church and confraternity, expansion to the north was checked by Rio delle Muneghette and the properties of the Zane family. Ostensibly "in praise of the cross", but really disguising underlying rivalry, the *Scuola* resolved to construct their staircase, just as Codussi's "*schala*" for the Scuola Grande de San Marco was nearing completion. By August 1495, the ceiling of the chapter-hall had been raised by about seven feet (*pie vi circumcirca*), but the Banca still needed to come to terms with Marin Zane "*e nevodi*" for the necessary land, a "*terren*

74. "Perchè potriano occorere diverse differentie circa i confini, i dicti tre zentilhomeni da esser electi abino auctorità de termenar, sumariamente dechiarir, et assignar a cadauno i suoi veri confini, con beneficio però de la appellation", Sanudo, *Diarii*, XVIII, col.475. (13.1.1514)

75. See L. Beltrami, *La Ca' del Duca*, op.cit., 29-32.

vachuo..cum 2 case da sazente che confina in testa del albergo". Yet, by November the *Scuola*'s neighbours were adamantly refusing to concede the lease; The intransigence of the Zane continued for a further three years and the deadlock was only broken through the mediation of Bernardo fo Nicolò Giustinian, "*parente di cha Zane*". On August 14 1498, in their "*volta*" at Rialto Nuovo, Francesco and Gerolamo qd Bernardo signed a perpetual lease, by which they received an annual rent of eighteen ducats.⁷⁶ The motives of the Zane are obscure, but may have been affected by the growing divide between nobles and *cittadini*.

Similarly, the *Scuola Grande de San Rocco* was beset by a catalogue of conflict with its neighbours. Although the Franciscans initially agreed to lease the *scuola* enough land "*che se farà la giesia, e scuola e casete et arche*", by May 1485 relations were so strained that the *confratelli* had been forced to abandon and demolish their modest oratory.⁷⁷ Their landlords appear to have been badly shaken by the confraternity's recent acquisition of the body of San Rocco, stolen from Voghera (in Lombardy) and placed provisionally in the church of San Geminiano. The brothers informed the Council of Ten of their intention to move from the Frari, from this "hidden and remote place" to "wherever the majority of their members shall see fit", taking with them all their "buildings" ("namely timber, ironwork, stone of all sorts") and

76. P.Sohm, *The Scuola Grande de San Marco, 1437-1550*, op.cit., 197-207, docs. 190, (21.8.1495), 191 (12.11.1495), 321-22. For the Agreement of 14.8 1498: SGE, b.140, f.302r-308v (copy); See also J.Bernasconi, 'The Dating of the Cycle of the Cross from the Scuola of San Giovanni Evangelista', *Arte Veneta*, XXXV, (1985), 198-202; P.F.Brown, *Venetian Narrative painting in the Age of Carpaccio*, op.cit., Appendix, n.XV, docs. 5, 6a, 6b, 6c, 283-84.

77. A decree of the Patriarch Maffeo Girardi (16.7.78) is contained in the archive of the church of San Tomà, BNM, Ms.Ital. Cl.VII, 2396 (=10496). The original "*patti e convention*" of 15.10.1478, in ASV, *Santa Maria Graziosa dei Frari*, b.102, n.81; Petition by Thomaxo Alberto, "*Vardian Grande*" to the Council of Ten, 25.5.1485, published in G.Nicoletti, *Illustrazione della Chiesa e Scuola di San Rocco in Venezia*, op.cit., 55; Also C.Mignozzi, 'San Rocco. Vicende della scuola', in T.Pignatti (ed.), *Le Scuole di Venezia*, op.cit., 152.

requested permission to admit a further hundred members ("*per poder aver qualche ajuto da fabricar*").

Yet, their attempts in September to move to the oratory of S.Susanna at San Samuele, restore and rebuild it as their church were frustrated, since the area was notoriously the haunt of paupers, and rogues "*de pessimi vite e qualitas*".⁷⁸ The following April, the Guardian Grande, Andrea Bolzano successfully negotiated with the lease of "*el Patriarchado al traghetto de San Silvestro*", then rented to Bergamaschi ("*so instead of an osteria it once again becomes a sacred place*").⁷⁹ Towards the end of August, in a special procession attended by the four *scuole grandi*, the relics of the saint were transported to their new resting place. However, the brothers had reckoned without the opposition of the parish chapter of San Silvestro, led by *plebano* Alvise Bagato. He refused to concede rights to the Ognissanti chapel within the Patriarchal palace apparently included within a grant of 1182 (*Damus ecclesiae S.Silvestri totas illas stationes vel camere positas in supradicto confinio S.Silvestri, permanentes sub palatio et ecclesia*).⁸⁰ In the face of such hostility, the *scuola* was driven back to its original site at the Frari (December 1489). Even though the confraternity had now attained *Scuola Grande* status, this time the Franciscans drove a hard bargain.⁸¹

78. When the oratory was transformed into a church dedicated to SS.Rocco and Margherita (the first stone was laid on April 22nd 1488), the Council of Ten tried unsuccessfully to remove beggars and prostitutes from the vicinity, (1492): G.B.Lorenzi, *Leggi et memorie*, op.cit., 77; G.Tassini, *Curiosità Veneziane*, (1863), IX Edizione, Filippi Editore, (1989), Entry "*Muneghe a San Samuele*", 440.

79. Quote from 1486, die 21..(month missing in document), G.Nicoletti, *Illustrazione*, op.cit., 55. For the negotiation of the perpetual lease (emphyteosis), G.Soravia, *La Chiesa e La Scuola Grande de San Rocco*, op.cit., Document I, 172, (23.4.1486); *ibid*, 182-5, (26.5.1486); 18.6.1486, Document K, 176-77, also 188. (I wish to thank Professor Juergun Schulz for bringing this work to my attention); F.Corner, 'Ecclesia parochialis San Silvestri papae', in *Ecclesiae Venetae*, Decas Quarta, op.cit., 23.4.1486, Document I3, 140-42; *ibid*, 23.5.1486, Document J3, 142-43; 13.6.1486, Document L3, 144; 13.6.1486, Document M3, 145.

80. G.Gallicciolli, *Delle memorie venete*, op.cit., Bk.III, Ch.V, 139) entry 'Pantano', 131. Also. F.Corner, *Ecclesiae Venetae Antiquis Monumentis*, op.cit., Vol. III, Decas Quarta, 76.

81. In September 1489, the Ten permitted the *Scuola* to raise its membership from its permitted maximum of 300 (as decreed in March 1486) to the full 500 of most of the other *Scuole Grandi*, B.Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice*, op.cit., n.26, 38.

Carrying their cross, the friars were to attend all funerals, receiving twenty *soldi* if a *confratello* was buried "*per l'amor de dio*", or three *lire* if otherwise. "The Franciscans had the right to supply the *Scuola* with preachers twelve times a year, and the *Scuola* was bound to employ three Franciscans to say Mass daily as *mansionarii*, and to include them in all distributions of alms during Lent".⁸² "*El zorno di San Francesco*", the *Scuola* was to join the customary procession to the convent, whilst on the vigil and feast-day of San Rocco the friars agreed to visit their neighbours. Moreover, the confraternity was obliged to pay a lease of fifty ducats a year and forbidden from building a bell-tower (and thus an imposing church).

But yet again strife was to rear its ugly head. Work on constructing a church and modest meeting-house began in earnest in 1491, suscitating furious complaints by the Franciscans. Work was abandoned, for unknown reasons, in 1495. The parish priest of San Tom  objected (to no avail) when the *Scuola* was conceded an altar of the Holy Sacrament and confessional rights: because, as was scribbled in the margin of another lengthy dispute between the parties in 1521, the *Scuola* was "*sub parrochiali ecclesia S.Thom *".

7.4. COMPARISONS AND CONTRASTS.

"There is a parish in Venice called San Nicol  where only fishermen live, and they speak an ancient dialect called *nicoloto* (Sanudo, 1493). Frequently described as "*miserabili*", "*poverete persone*" or those "without anything in the world", its inhabitants also included minor artisans; such as weavers, tanners, *squeraroli* and caulkers, whilst patricians shunned the parish. We get the

⁸². Ibid, 49. The original "convention", 23.12.1489, in Frari, b.102, n.85.

~~impression of a closed, deeply traditional and extraordinarily~~
 tight-knit community; almost a separate culture, with few
 outsiders: in fact the *boni originarii*, all those men "born within
 the bridges of San Nicolò and San Rafael who sold in the
 fishmarkets of San Marco and Rialto" did belong to a separate
Comunità, that had its own *Mariegolà* (statutes) and officers:
 twelve *presidenti* and a *Gastaldo Grande* (steward). Neighbourhood
 ties in this isolated parish were very different from those in San
 Polo. San Nicolò has to be viewed as by no means representative of
 the central areas of the city: in fact only the high concentration
 of inhabitants from the island of Poveglia in the nearby parish of
 Sant'Agnese approached anything like its distinct trade
 identity.⁸³

But useful comparisons can be made with the *contrada* of Santa
 Marina. At the end of August 1480, as word spread quickly of a
 miraculous image of the Madonna on a street corner, huge weeping
 and imploring crowds flocked to this parish: "*Fo ditta la*
pianzeva" remarked Sanudo. However, as Elizabeth Crouzet-Pavan was
 quick to point out, we should not also under-estimate the force of
 neighbourhood solidarity in this incident. Local patronage was
 swiftly mobilized: "*Quei della contrà*" elected influential nobles
 who "lived nearby" as procurators, to supervise and control this
 deluge of charity :- Francesco Zen, Francesco Diedo "*el dottor*"⁸⁴,
 followed by Marco and Agostino Soranzo qd Niccolò "*el Procurador*",
 Toma Contarini qd Hieronimo "*el vechio*", Andrea Erizzo qd
 Francesco, Nicolò Donà "*de la Becharia*" and finally the future

83. On San Nicolò see R.Zago, *I Nicolotti. Storia di una comunità di pescatori in età moderna*, Francisci Editore, Abano Terme, (1982)

84. Profile in M.King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*, op.cit., 361; also G.Tournoy, entry 'Francesco Diedo', in *DBI*, XXXIX, (1991), 769-774. (he appears to have moved from his original home at SS.Apostoli)

Doge, Leonardo Loredan.⁸⁵ The Soranzo brothers, for instance, lived a stone's throw away, in a palace bought by their father in 1473 from the Gradenigo (for 4,000 ducats) and completely rebuilt over the following six years (the superb Palazzo Soranzo-von Axel, (n.a.6099). The main protagonists were a *cittadino* family, the Amadi, in whose courtyard the image stood. Offerings flooded in at such a rate that a new church was founded: Santa Maria dei Miracoli. This case warns against arguments from silence about the cohesion of neighbourhoods: in this apparently torpid parish, local energies were suddenly galvanized by spontaneous popular fervour. Though there are signs that neighbourhood ties in San Polo were weak, we cannot be sure. We know very little of the extent to which the *popolo minuto* and *cittadini* came together; or where; perhaps at the market held every Wednesday morning on *Campo San Polo*.

85. List of Procurators from M.Sanudo, *Le Vite dei Dogi*, op.cit., f.86v, 172; M.A.Sabellico, *De Venetae urbis situ libri tres* op.cit.; E.Crouzet-Pavan, *Sopra le acque salse*, op.cit., I, 617-68 ('Autour d'une Fondation Religieuse. Santa Maria dei Miracoli. Espace Sacré, Espace Social à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age'). A thoroughly documented and penetrating account of the foundation of the Miracoli can be found in R.Lieberman, *The Church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli*, Ph.D.thesis, New York University (1972), Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts, Garland Publishing, New York and London, (1986).

CONCLUSIONS.

This thesis has attempted to reveal a cross-section of society and throughout I have sought to highlight the distinctive features of this *sestiere*. What set it most apart was undoubtedly the presence of Rialto in its midst. The social profile of Sant'Aponal, San Silvestro and San Polo was marked by the splintering of the *popolo minuto* into a very large number of specialized trades; this suggests that the extraordinary diversity of trades at Rialto spilled over into the nearby parishes. As best we can see, various branches of textile and service trades as well as immigrants from the Terraferma were thick on the ground. Unsurprisingly so close to the commercial heart of the city, nautical and manufacturing trades were almost entirely absent. Small-scale workshops, often annexed to homes, proliferated. By way of contrast, we can point to isolated parishes such as San Nicolò and the emergence of poorer districts towards the margins of the city, where groups of related trades were increasingly beginning to cluster.

Returns for the *Redecima* of 1514 underscore the incredible concentration of "shops, storerooms and warehouses" in San Giovanni Elemosinario and San Giacomo, which find no parallel anywhere in the city. Less obvious was that shops leased from under ten to over fifty ducats were jumbled

together, whilst the major property-owners were resident in other *sestieri*.

San Polo was a compact agglomeration of parishes, unlike other *sestieri*. Yet the perception of Rialto as an "island" within the quarter and the blurring of parish boundaries raised doubts about the possibilities of loyalties to the parish. It is very difficult to uncover very much regarding the thorny issue of neighbourhood and any conclusions must remain tentative.

The key point is that *sestieri* were perceived of only as administrative divisions: they were not identified with a sense of local loyalty. Furthermore, the parishes of San Polo were not "microcosms" of the wider city. Neighbourhood ties appear to have formed part of complex and changing webs of allegiance. They coexisted with civic patriotism and bonds to confraternities and guilds. The picture of existing local loyalties giving way before such ties appears less convincing.

Evidence from San Polo of the vitality of parish solidarities is ambiguous. The festive role of parishes does appear to have been virtually non-existent, and even if it may have been more extensive than we yet appreciate, it was of minor consequence in comparison with civic spectacle and the processional role of the *Scuole Grandi*. What, however, can be clearly seen, is that smaller devotional confraternities in San Polo were closely tied to parishes, contrary to previous views. But the "social networks" of

artisans and especially women remain largely hidden from view. Still more in need of investigation are the extent of trade solidarities here and the mobility of labour, a mammoth task requiring years of archival research. Also it must be stressed that, in comparison with Florence, Genoa and Rome, I have found no evidence that Venetian neighbourhoods were power-bases for noble families or indeed of local patronage networks.

In Chapter 3, I attempted to deepen the conventional perspective of the nobility and *cittadini* through a number of detailed family histories. The in-depth study of several patrician families emphasized the dynamic quality of family structures and the complexity and diversity of residential patterns. These families did not conform to rigid models or any single type. Striking differences were apparent between *cittadini* families, in accordance with the view of an order still very much in the making. The following chapters emphasized the differences between parishes, both in size, population density and the fabric of housing. In particular, both fifteenth-century records and the Redecima underlined the striking diversity of property at Rialto. They also opened up new lines of research into neighbourhood. The fragmentation both of palaces and of ownership, can be set against the concern that patricians displayed to keep the core of their patrimony intact. San Polo and indeed Venice defy our attempts at simple categorisation.

Appendix 1. Nobles and Cittadini in the Sestiere: Documents.

1.1. From G.B.Lorenzi, *Leggi e memorie venete sulla prostituzione fino alla caduta della Repubblica*, 50.

MCCCLV. Die II Martij. In Consilio X.

Ser Zacharias Valaresso
 Ser Laurentius Lauredano) capita
 Ser Stefano Trevisano

1455 2 mazzo

Cum clarissimi intelligatur quantum multiplicet in hac civitate abhominabile et dehestandum viciū sodimitis, [...] electi fuerunt capita contractarum iuxta formā partis suprascripte.."

SEXTERIUM S.PAULI

Sancti Silvestri	Ser Johannes Contareno Ser Marcus mauroceno
Sancti Pauli	Ser Johannes Fuscarenno Ser Jeronimus Georgio
Sancti Thome	Ser Johannes Quirino Ser Jeronimus de Priolis
Sancti Steni	Ser Franciscus Contareno q ^m Ser Roberti Ser Nicolai Zane
Sancti Boldu	Ser Johannes Franciscus Bragadino Ser Laurentius Gradonico
Sancti Augustini	Ser Mapheus Cornario Ser Heustachius Balbi
Sancti Apolinaris	Ser Federicus Cornario Ser Paulus Lauredano q ^m Ser Francisci.

1.2. From Sanudo, *Diarii*, IX, cols.356-8.

Questi sono li deputadi per li 12 sopra li sestieri, a far la descriptom in le contrade di le persone, qualità e condition, dil mexe di mazo 1509.

Sestier di San Polo.

Santo Agustin.

Sier Bernardo Moro, *quondam* sier Lunardo.
Sier Marco Balbi, *quondam* sier Beneto.
Sier Marin Carlo.
Sier.....Maza, di sier Zuan Stefano.

Santo Pollo

Sier Domenegho Capello, *quondam* sier Carlo.
Sier Lorenzo Loredam, *quondam* sier Piero.
Sier Baldisera Turlom.
Sier Andrea Corbeli.

San Stem.

Sier Francesco Zane, *quondam* sier Bernardo.
Sier Piero Badoer, *quondam* sier Orsso.
Sier Francesco de la Torre, de la messetaria.
Sier Marco Moisé, da le telle.

San Zuan di Rialto.

Sier Piero Falier, *quondam* sier Bortolo.
Sier Zuan Antonio Morexini, *quondam* sier Nicolò.
Sier Polo Sian, drapier.
Sier Alexandro da la Volta.

Santo Aponal.

Sier Alvise da Canal, *quondam* sier Iachomo.
Sier Giacomo Emo, *quondam* sier Bertuzi.
Sier Lodovico Trivisan, drapier.
Sier Nadal di Azenti.

San Silvestro.

Sier Zorzi Contarini, *quondam* sier Ambruosu.
Sier Lorenzo Loredam, *quondam* sier Marco.
Sier Giacomo di Usnagi.
Sier Sabastian Girardo, de la Volta.

San Matio de Rialto.

APPENDIX 2. ZANE WILLS

Alvise fu Francesco, 7.4.1485, G.Bonicardi, b.69, 115 and 316.
 also A.Savina, b.1237, 168
 Andrea fu Polo, 23.3 1505, Atti Bon, b.131, 62.
 Andrianna di Bartolomeo wife of Andrea Muazzo, 17.1 1473, T.Tomei, b.1238, 2
 Andrianna fu Girolamo, 2.2 1513, G. Chiodo, b.201, 44.
 Angela wife di Francesco, G.Chiodo, b.201, 45.
 Antonio dal banco, 26.6 1447, A. Gambaro, b.558, 154
 Bartolomea fu Maffeo, 5.1 1479, Atti Alemani, b.14, 7.
 Bernardino fu Alvise, 20.6 1491, P.Busenello, b.66, 8.
 Bianca widow of Nicolo, 4.12.1490, Cancelleria Inferiore Miscellanea Testamenti, b.27, 44.
 Caterina wife of Lorenzo, 10.6 1464, T.Tomei, b.1238, 191, b.1240, 216; Correr Pdc 2016/c.102
 Cataruzza wife of Francesco Zane, 18.3.1457, V.Pase, 165.
 Cecilia wife of Lunardo Dandolo, 24.3 1455, A. Lorenzi, b.923, 57
 Cecilia di marin 10.3 1461, V. Dalla torre, 1062, 41.
 Chiara wife of girolamo, 26.5.1482, C.Rizzo, 1227,101,1229,193.
 Cristina, 20.9.1456, Atti Croce, 1155, 8.
 Domenico qd Antonio, 21.8.1464, B.Baffo in PSM, Ultra b.315.
 Elena di Marino, 21.2 1452, Atti Croce 1157, 2, 178t.
 Elisabetta wife of Francesco, 5.4 1521, 1183, 169.
 Elisabetta fu Girolamo, Atti Bon, 24.12 1450, 132, 210
 Ermalao qd lorenzo 1492 , Correr, mss Zane, PdC 2016 c.117
 Fioralbana wife of a Giovanni, 20.7.1473, G.Bonicardi, 68, 140
 Giovanna wife of Girolamo, 8.8.1513, Atti Bonsaver, b.63, 23.
 Istriana fu Andrea, 31.10.1479, Atti Almerici, b.14, 25. 2nd will 24.5 1502, C.Rizzo, b.1229, 138
 Lucia, 25.5.1480, Atti Borgi, b.71, 105.
 Lucia fu Marco wife of a Morosini, 8.7 1498, Atti Bagnolo, b.1153, 64.
 Lucia widow of Polo, C.Rizzo, b.1228, 222.
 Luchina, 23.1 1443, Atti Pennato, b.824, 59
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 Maria, 28.3 1485 , Atti Almerici, b.14, 37
 Maria wife of Alvise, 28.6.1491, A.Savina, b.1236, 177.
 Maria fu Andrea wife of Andrea Contarini, 22.1.1479, C.Rizzo, b.1228, 285;b.1229, 183.
 Maria fu Domenico, 1.10.1491, Atti Bonamico, b.41, 141.

Maria fu Francesco, 16.7.1482, C.Rizzo, b.1228, 253. 2nd will, wife of Giovanni Guoro, 15.7.1503, G.Chiodo, b.202, 289.
 Maria wife of Giacomo and fu Maffeo, 1.3.1473, T.Tomei, b.1239, 509.
 Maria wife of Girolamo, 16.5.1479, G.Bonicardi, b.68, 210. See also Bembo.
 Marin fu Francesco, 13.4.1507, Atti Bossi, b.50, 110; b.53, 387.
 Michela wife of Francesco (see Michiel), 16.1 1451, Atti Croce b.1155, 275.
 Orsa 7.2.1470, Atti Avanzo, b.46, 100
 Suoradamor 5.7 1505, Atti Bassi, b.53, 476.
 Suoradamor wife of Alvise (Lodovico), 6.4.1470, T.Tomei, b.1239, 690.
 Taddeo fu Marc'Antonio 17.7.1484, Atti Marsilio, b.1214, 985.
 Tommaso fu maffeo, 25.6.1483, Atti Almerici, b.14, 43.
 Uliana wife of Nicolo, 17.9.1465, Atti Bon, Cancelleria inferiore, b.26, 2
 Zuandomenico fu Biagio, 10.10. 1475, Cancelleria Inferiore Miscellanea Testamenti Diversi, b.27, 2512.

APPENDIX 3 *CITTADINI IN THE PARISH OF SANT'APONAL*
(1450-1500).

Alberto Tamagin fo Gasparin, *sanser*. *Scuola Grande de S.Marco*, b.4, 10v, 1496.
 Alvise qd Johannis Aiuta. Will: AN, Notary, A.Grassellis, b.508, 8, 26.10.1474.
 Alvixe de Monte qd Domenico, *zoielarius*. Will: AN, Notary, V.Pase, 24.6.1456; brother of S.Maria dei Merchadanti. Scuole Piccole, b.437bis.
 Alvixe de Zuanne dela Staiera *Scuola Grande de San Marco*, b.4, 7r.
 Alvixe Marcilian. SGE, R.12, 15.3.1482.
 Andrea qd Johannis Aiuta. QM, 78, 1.3.1497
 Andreas de Gandolfis, *mercante di lana*. Will: AN, Notary, A.Saraccho, 5.10.1467.
 Andrea di Vittorin dal Chriello. SGE, R.12. 1461, Spaza 12.5.1479
 Angelo de Soradonis, *barbiere*. AN, Notary, A.Grassellis, b.508, n.6, 10.8.1474; CI, Notary, A.Grassellis, b.99, 44. 19.12.1474 (for his widow)
 Angelo Sanson. *S.Croce alla Giudecca*, Pergamene, 2458, 15.5.1448
 Antonio di Mazi, *spitier/aromater*. Brother of *S.Maria dei Merchadanti*. Scuole Piccole, b.437bis
 Antonio de Zaccaria d'Avosto. Esaminador, Preces, 37, f.83r 17.2.1479mv (=1480)
 Anzollo di Francesco. *Scuola Grande della Carità*, Successione ereditarie, guardiani etc., 11.3.1453.
 Bartolomeo de Monte qd Domenico *zoielarius* (d.1484). *Scuola Grande de S.Marco*, R.4, f.21v. Brother of S.Maria dei Merchadanti, Scuole Piccole, b.437bis.
 Benedetto Petriani. SGE, R.12, 1470, 1492; Avogaria de Comun, Raspe, 3653/13, f.165r, 175r: 22.4.1474, 28.4.1474.
 Benedetto Redolfi. SGE, R.12, 1483, Spaza 19.11.1493
 Bernardin di Mazi. QM, 78, 22.8.1495;
 Bianca, wife of Alvise de Monte, Wills: AN, Notary, A.Grassellis, b.508, 19, 13.1.1479 & 24.6.1479.
 Brigida daughter of Antonio de Martini and wife of Zuan Aiuta, AN, Notary, A.Grassellis, n.29, 29.6.1483.
 Cecilia wife of Alvise de Ragazonibus a stateris, AN, Notary, G.Bonicardi, b.68, 22.11.1485.
 Cabriel de Marchexin. *Scuola Grande de S.Marco*, R.4, 30r
 Chiara, wife of Nicolò Bianco, *aurifex*. Will: AN, Notary, A.Grassellis, b.508, 40, 17.3.1479
 Christoforo de Gasparin d'Azentì. *Scuola Grande de San Marco*, R.4, f.30v, 1495.
 Christoforo Sanson qd Alexii. *Scuola Grande della Carità*, Successione etc, f.15v, 12.3.1467; CI, Notary C.Rizzo, b.177/2, 22.10.1474;
 Domenigo Saraccho. 1479, d.1517. *Scuola Grande de S.Marco*, 4.37v.

Fantin d'Avosto qd Zaccaria. (d.before 1479), Preces, 37, f.83r 17.2.1479 (=1480).

Felippo Aiuta. Frari, b.6, Indice catastico, f.16v.

Francesco de Franchezis qd Baptista *culturerarius*.

Francesco de Mazi *aromater*, Esaminador, Preces, 36, f.48v, 30.8.1477

Francesco qd Zorzi Marcilian. Will: AN, Notary, A.Grassellis, b.508, Pergamene, 19, 28.8.1472

Francesco Urso de Zuanne. d.before March 1498: QM, 78, 10.7.1498.

Francesco de Zuan de di Nicolò della Volta. *Scuola Grande della Carità*, Successione, f.29v, 3.1.1482 (mv=83)

Francesco de Zuan Maza. *Scuola Grande de S.Marco*, b.4, f.51r, 1483.

Hieronimo Sanson. *Scuola Grande della Carità*, Successione, f.26r, 1479 (*degano*); f.28r, (*degano*), 11.3.1480; f.35v, *Guardian da matin*, 23.3.1488.

Jachomo de Rizado. SGE, 34, *Commissaria*. Will: 26.7.1498, f.341r-v; QM, 78, 14.7.1501.

Jachomo Sanson. *Scuola Grande della Carità*, Successione, f.13r, 30.3.1454 *Guardian da matin*; March 1457, *Vicario*; 11.3.1464, *Guardian Grande*; Proprio, Lezze, 7, 24.7.1461.

Johanna Petriani. Esaminador, Preces, 31, f.38v, 29.4.1472. Will: AN, Notary, A.Grassellis, b.508, protocols, 38, 13.1.1478 (mv=79).

Johannis de Antelmis (see Maria de Antelmis).

Johannis Rizzo qd Bartolomeo. AN, Notary, P.Grassellis, b.565, Pergamene, 2, 7.11.1446.

Johannis olim Johannis Stefani, *merchadante di vin*. CI, Notary, A.Grassellis, b.99, 10, 1.8.1470 (dowry receipt).

Johannis Venier qd Georgio de Candia. CI, Notary, A.Grassellis, b.99, 25, 10.11.1472; *ibid.*, 59, 10.3.1477.

Lazzaro Piloto qd Bartolomeo dal Sal. SGE, 1444. Died 1489. Will: AN, Notary, A.Grassellis, b.508, 125 13.2.1486mv (=87); note previous testament of 7.10.1485 described as living in San Silvestro.

Lion Lionzini, *becher*. QM, 78, 15.3.1493.

Lion Sanson. *Scuola Grande della Carità*, Successione, f.29v; f.32v, (*degano*), 20.3.1485.

Luca de Piero, *strazaruol*. Will: SGE, 34, f.130r-131r, 2.5.1450.

Lunardo del Pozzo, *orese*. *Scuola Grande de S.Marco*, b.4, 78.

Lunardo Sanson, *Scuola Grande della Carità*, Successione, f.12r, 25.3.1462.

Maria di Antelmis. Will, AN, Notary, P.Benedetto, 98, 26.2.1464 (mv=65)

Maria widow of Baldassar Turlon. Will: AN, Notary, A.Bacinetti, 18, 21.3.1491.

Marin Barbeta *draperius*. *Scuola Grande de San Marco*, b.4, f.91v, 1484.

Marina, wife of Nadalin *aurifex*. Will:AN, Notary, P.Grassellis, b.565, 316, 13.5.1448

Mathio Aiuta qd Alvise. Will: Notary, A.Grassellis, b.508, 148, 2.9.1477.

Medea Aiuta. 23.11.1453. Will:AN, Notary, F.Grassi, b.531, 210.
 Nicolò Orso qd Zuanne. Esaminador, Preces, 38, f.20v, 18.2.1480 (mv=1481).
 Nicolò Petriani. (see pages 118-122)
 Pelegrin de Marco a Seraphino a moneta. Esaminador, Preces, 21, 28.4.1452. Will of Pietro de Marcho in AN, Notary, A.Grassellis, b.508, 194, 14.11. 1484.
 Pelegrin de parina, *ceroicho/miedexi de fixicha*.
 Piero di Usnagi. QM, 78, 27.11.1495.
 Pietro di Urso qd Zuanne, 28.9.1465, CI, Notary, B.Camuciis, protocols, 14.
 Salvador Salvazzo. QM, 78, 15.6.1493
 Thoma Belon *zoielarius*. CI, Notary, A.Grassellis, b.99, 44, 19.12.1474. Scuole Piccole, b.437bis, Scuola di S.Maria dei Mercandanti.
 Vettor qd Zorzi Marzilian. SGE, R.12, 1454; QM, 78, f.93r, 18.9.1490; Esaminador, Preces, 36, f.83r, 2.5.1478: SGE, 34, f.199r.
 Zuan Belon. *zoielarius*. Scuole Piccole, b.437bis, *Scuola di S.Maria dei Mercandanti*.
 Zorzi Marcilian. SGE, R.34, *Commissaria* of Nicolò Bianco dela Ternaria, f.196r. Will, 3.5.1472, f.197r-v. Property, f.197v-198r.
 Zuan Aiuta. QM,71, f.10v, 15.4.1485; QM, 78, 19.5.1498.
 Zuan Marcilian. SGE, R.34, f.197r.

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Balla d'Oro,

RR. 162/1-164/III (1413-1485).

Prove di Età,

178/2 (1444-52)

Raspe,

3652/12 (1465-68)

3653/13 (1468-74)

3654/14 (1474-79)

3655/15 (1479-82)

3656/16 (1483-89)
 3657/17 (1489-93)

ARCHIVIO NOTARILE, SERIE TESTAMENTI.
 Notary.

A.Armani	b.46	(1454-84)
N.Avanzo	b.295	(1475-84)
F.Basadona	b.378	(1443-78)
A.Benado	b.586	(1429-56)
G.Bonicardi	bb. 68-69	(1473-88)
P.Busenello	b.66	(1471-1520)
B.Camucci	b.385	(1430-71)
T.Camucci	b.595	(1471-81)
N.Colonna	b.360	(1457-1501)
B.Grasolario	bb.479-82	(1455-78)
A.Grassellis	b.508	(1466-90)
P.Grassellis	b.565	(1444-59)
F.Grassi	b.531	(1445-64)
M.Mazza	b.656	(1461-88)
B.Ognibene	b.748	(1452-73)
G.Persecini	b.823	(1427-71)
C.Rizzo	b.1227	(1471-1522)
A.Sarda	b.851	(1474-1507)
A.Savina	bb.1235-1237	(c.1468-99)
B.Sori	b.1109	(1447-70)
V.dalla Torre	b.336	(1438-81)
A.Vataciis	b.754	(1411-58)

CANCELLERIA INFERIORE,
 Notary.

L.Amore	b.7	(1453-60)
N.Avanzo	b.7	(1448-81)
N.Colonna	b.62	(1457-97)
F.Elmi	bb.74-76	(1421-77)
A.Fiume	b.84	(1479-94)
A.Grassellis	b.99	(1466-93)
B.Morosini	b.124	(1471-96)
B.Ognibene	b.137	(1452-54)
C.Rizzo	b.177/2	(1471-1512)

Miscellanea testamenti notai diversi, bb.27-29.

CHIESA DI SAN TOMA.

B.1 "*Catastico, testamenti, registri di mansonarie*"; XVIII commissaria of Marco Morosini (1493) (includes a partial copy of his will).
 B.2 *Visite apostoliche*, 1495, 1581; XV, "*Scritture delle scuole nella chiesa*", 1437-1606; *Proprietà indiviso con San Stin*.

B.3; II, *fascicolo di atti vari*, 1487-1783.

COLLEGIO,

Cerimoniale, b.1.

Notatorio.

R.9 1453-60

R.10 1460-67

R.11 (11.4.1467-28.3.74)

R.12 (27.3.1474-23.11.1481)

R.13 (1481-89)

R.14 (1489-98)

CONSIGLIO DEI DIECI, Parti

Miste,

R.15 (1454-59)

R.16 (1460-66)

R.17 (1466-72)

R.18 (1473-76)

R.19 (1477-80)

R.20 (1480-82)

R.21 (1480-82)

R.22 (1484-85)

R.23 (1486-88)

R.24 (1488-90)

R.25 (1491-92).

DIECI SAVI SOPRA ALLE DECIME IN RIALTO,

Redecima 1514, Condizioni della città,

Sant'Apollinare b.17

Sant'Agostino b.18

San Boldo b.25

San Polo b.59

San Silvestro b.65

San Stin b.70

San Tomá b.71

GIUDICI DEL ESAMINADOR.

Esami di Testamenti Per Brevario,

R.1. (1483-87)

Preces. RR.24-46 (7.1.1459-26.2.1497mv), esp.

R.31 (5.3.70-23.8.1471)

R.32 (4.9.1471-12.2.1472mv)

R.33 (4.3.1473-30.4.1475)

R.34 (24.1.1474mv-19.6.1476)

R.35 (12.3.1476-21.2.1476mv)

R.36 (3.3.1477-15.10.1478)
 R.37 (2.4.1478-5.10.1480)
 R.40 (28.6.1483 -27.4.1484).
 R.41 (May 1484-26.6.1485)
 R.42.5.7.1485--22.11.1488.
 R.43.11.12.1488 -1490.
 R.44. 8.9.1492-28.2.1493mv
 R.45.3.11.1494-4.2.1495.
 R.46.3 March-1497 26 febr 1497mv.

GIUDICI DI PETIZION.

Capitoli pubblicati, processi,

R.10 24.5.1476-10.11.1479
 R.11 26.11.1479-15.11.1479

Estraordinario notai,

R.26 3.4.1457-22.5.1462
 R.27 17.8.1463-6.11.1465
 R.28 31.5.1466-9.10.1467
 R.29 27.1.1467mv-9.3.1470
 R.30 12.3.1470-25.10.1472.

Sentenze a Giustizia,

RR.150-186. (18.2.1467-13.11.89), part.,
 R.150 (18.2.1466mv-20.1.1467mv)
 R.155 (3.1471-10.1471)
 R.156 (9.1472-7.1473)
 R.158 (8.1473-7.1474)
 R.166 (14.7.1477-3.7.1478)
 R.167 (4.7.1477-6.5.1478)
 R.168 (23.5.1478-31.7.1479)
 R.175 (28.11.1481-14.11.1482)
 R.176 (3.11.1481-29.11.1482)
 R.178 (3.10.1483-4.11.1484)
 R.184 (13.8.1487-6.11.1488)
 R.186 (7.12.1488-13.11.1489).

R.157 (10.10.1472-29.6.1478) contains ratifications of arbitrations.

GIUDICI DI PROPRIO.

Divisioni,

R.2 (1461-64)

Estraordinario e Giudice Delegato.

R.1 (7.1.1481-24.4.1484)

Lezze,

R.6 (1455-57)
 R.7 (1461-62)
 R.8 (1468-68)
 R.9 (1476-78)
 R.10 (1478-79)

Vadimoni,

- R.5 (19.11.1461-8.3.1462)
- R.6 (28.9.1472-27.3.74)
- R.7 (3.10.1476-28.2.1476mv)
- R.8 (15.11.1476-26.2.78)
- R.9 (8.7.1479-10.11.1505)

MAGGIOR CONSIGLIO,
Deliberazioni,

Regina (1458-79)
Stella (1480-1502)

MISCELLANEA CODICI, I, STORIA VENETA.

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B.1, codice A: property at Rialto behind the *Casaria*, 6v-7v; at San Polo, Sant'Aponal (1227-1419), and S.Tomá (1430-1530), f.7v; codice B: "*livello di cha Erizzo*" cc.133r-149r, property at San Tomá, cc.173r-187r and at Rialto, 153r-172r; codice E: houses at Sant'Aponal 1228-1563; codice F: houses at Sant'Aponal, S.Polo and SS.Apostoli (Cannaregio), 1227-1563; ibid., *Osteria della Scimia*, houses and shops at Rialto 1208-1623; codice G: *Fascicoli* 11/12, "*Case di Sant'Aponal, 1227-1539*", and shops at Rialto, 1227-1498; codice H: b.3, property in San Giovanni di Rialto, 1227-1664, c.90r; at Sant'Aponal, 1238-1502 and *livelli* of the above, c.91r-97v; S.Tomá, ibid., c.98r-108r.

B.8, (1430-1614): Houses in San Tomá- with 6 *pergamene* from the 15th century

B.12, (1247-1614): Property at Sant'Aponal; 1238-1247, acquisition of 13 houses in the courtyard called "*Corte delle Monache*"; 1247-1614 for property along "*Calle de Cha Cucina*"; 1497; 1227-1494, "*Osteria della Scimia a San Giovanni*"; includes 5 *pergamene* from the 15th century; other property in San Giovanni, with 2 *pergamene* from the XVth century (1471-74).

PROCURATORI DE SAN MARCO,
Commissarie, de Ultra.

b.52 Lunardo qd Giovanni Bondumier. Will, 22.5.1420.

Marco qd Giovanni Bondumier. Will, 1400.

b.53 Division between Bernardo, Tomá e Francesco Bondumier, 24.9.1474:

- b.99 Fantina widow of Domenico "*dal confinio de San Tomá*", *Quaderno della commissaria* 1461-1500; Will, 8.12.1461.
- b.108 Zaccaria Contarini qd Alvise de San Stin, *Quaderno della commissaria* 1462-1575, copy of his will of 5.3.1468 (1548).
- b.192 Benedetto qd Alessandro Michiel of San Tomá. fasc.1 1466-1607, *lite varie*; fasc.8, genealogy of this branch of the Michiel family; fasc.10, will of Benedetto, 3.4.1466;
- b.196 Tommaso Michiel qd Luca of San Polo. Will, 1.2.1437:
- b.198 Andrea Molin qd Nicolò. Will of 30.1.1462; *cedola* of 20.1.1462; 21.11.1465 sentence of the *Curia del Procurator* for Giovanni D'Arpino against his estate; 21.11.1465 for the Monastery of San Giorgio in Alga; 14.11.1476, sentence in favour of the estate against Giovanni dal Gallo; 1465-90 "*Quaderno della commissaria*" with a copy of the will.
- b.239. Polo Querini of San Tomá, 1363; will of July 1438.
- b.253 Matteo Sanudo qd Lunardo buys a house from Alessandro Falier at Sant'Aponal, 15.11.1474.
- b.314 Andrea Zane qd Michele of Sant'Agostin, 13.7.1426 will; also will of Antonio Zane qd Domenico of Santa Maria Mater Domini (Santa Croce), 7.6.1443 (copy): *Quaderno della commissaria* 1441-60; 1433, copy of 1441; will of Chiara widow of Lorenzo of Sant'Agostin, 19.7.1402;
- b.315 Domenico Zane qd Antonio of Santa Maria Mater Domini. Will of 21.8.1464.
- b.319 Nicoletto Zane of San Stin. *Commissaria* 1394-1411, will 30.7.1400; also Pasquale Zane qd Lorenzo of Santa Maria Mater Domini, will of 8.2.1401.

PROVVEDITORI AL SAL.

B.6.R.4. Parti.

R.59, Notatorio, I (1482-95)

B.60, R.1. Notatorio II, (1491-1529)

QUATTRO MINISTERIALI, STRIDE E CHIAMORI.

RR.34-79; those with significant amounts of information on the *sestiere* are:-

- R.53 (5.3.1471-5.2.1480mv)
 R.58 (17.12.1475-29.7.1485)
 R.59 (21.1.1475mv-22.1.1478mv)
 R.60 (5.4.1475-25.5.1484)
 R.61 (9.1.1476mv-4.2.1496mv)
 R.65 (20.4.1478-23.1.1496mv)
 R.68 (17.11.1479-17.7.1501).
 R.71 (12.6.1484-20.11.1495)
 R.78 (5.5.1491-13.5.1508.)

SANTA MARIA GLORIOSA DEI FRARI.

- B.2 *Catastico delle scritture* (1200-1758)
 B.3 *Catastico delle scritture* (1230-1801)

- B.5 *Catastico vecchio* (28.7.1502)
 B.6 *Indice catastico* (1234-1665)
 B.7 *Catastico nuovo* (1436-1737)
 B.90 *Convento e chiesa.*
 B.102 *Atti relative al lite tra la Scuola of San Rocco e il capitolo di San Silvestro* (1486-1487)
 B.107 *Ponte e Campo;*

SCUOLA GRANDE DE SAN GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA. (uncatalogued).

- R.12 *Mariegola* (1450-90)
 R.34 *Catastico*
 R.42 *Parti* (1300-1700)
 R.72 *Notatorio.* (1415-1465)
 R.89 *Istromenti*
 R.131 *Testamenti*
 R.140 *Notatorio.* (1301-1520)

SCUOLA GRANDE DE SANTA MARIA DELLA CARITA.

Successione ereditarie Guardiani e confratelli (1450-1545)
 (uncatalogued).

SCUOLA GRANDE DE SAN MARCO.

B.4 *Mariegola.* (1480-1549)

SCUOLE PICCOLE E SUFFRAGI.

B.437bis. *Mariegola della Scuola di Santa Maria dei Merchadanti ai Frari.*

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 R.6 (7.9.1467-13.2.1472mv)
 R.7 (1.3.1473-28.2.1477)
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